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Patterns of Regime and Leadership Change in the Third World



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Patterns of Regime and Leadership Change in the Third World

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This paper was prepared by the Political Instability
Branch, Office of Global Issues. Comments and
queries are welcome and may be addressed to the
Chief, Foreign Subversion and Instability Center,
OGI,

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**Patterns of Regime and
Leadership Change
in the Third World**

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Preface

*Information available
as of 30 June 1986
was used in this report.*

This Reference Aid examines patterns of regime and leadership change in the Third World since 1955. It is based on a computerized chronology of leadership and regime changes in 101 countries with populations greater than 1 million. To illustrate the versatility of our data base, we included a series of graphics in this paper that track levels of regime and leadership change over time, regime duration, and mechanisms of regime change in specific regions—Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Near East–South Asia, and East Asia—and in the Third World as a whole.

The data base, the chronologies, and the maps are current through 30 June 1986, but, for presentational purposes, the other graphics are current only through the end of 1985. The data base is maintained by the Political Instability Branch in the Office of Global Issues and can be accessed on any IBM personal computer. Analysts are encouraged to exploit the data base in conducting their research.

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Key Terms

Leadership Change	A process whereby a country's chief executive leaves office—by either constitutional or unconstitutional means—and is replaced by another individual or group.
Regime Change	A process by which the structure of the government in power is removed and replaced by another form of government, as when a military junta overthrows a democratic government and establishes a military dictatorship.
Regime Type	Democratic. A presidential or parliamentary system characterized by open elections, lawful transitions of power, broad suffrage, and a political opposition that has relatively equal opportunity for gaining power through elections. Military Authoritarian. A government headed by a military officer or junta that has come to power by means of a coup or other violent means, a fraudulent election, or succession from a previous military leader. Civilian Authoritarian. A government led by an individual or group of civilians who gained power through violent means, a fair or fraudulent election, or succession, and who rule without reference to constitutional procedures. This category includes monarchies and theocracies as well as civilian dictatorships and single-party regimes. Marxist-Leninist. A government led by one or more avowed Marxist-Leninists or a group dominated by Marxist-Leninists who gained power through a fair or fraudulent election, succession, a coup, or political violence.
Mechanisms of Regime Change	Independence. A transition from possession or protectorate status to full political autonomy. Constitutional. A transition from one leader or governing group to another characterized by lawful and constitutionally approved procedures. Government Fiat. An arbitrary order or decree made by the existing government that changes the nature of the government, often giving the leader or leaders extraordinary powers. Military Coup. A violent overthrow of the existing leadership—by a group led by or closely associated with the military—that results in a government dominated by the military. Other. Includes leadership changes that are the result of revolution, civil war, or foreign intervention.

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**Patterns of Regime and
Leadership Change
in the Third World**

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Overview

Since the mid-1960s the number of regime changes in the Third World has declined, while the frequency of leadership change has remained fairly constant. Latin America is the only region that has deviated significantly from this trend, reflecting a surge in the number of democratic governments during the past five years. Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa have experienced the greatest turnover in both regimes and leadership during the last 30 years. The Near East-South Asian and East Asian regions have experienced the fewest changes.

Regime Types

As of 31 December 1985, of the 101 Third World countries in our data base, more than 25 percent of the regimes were democratic, 40 percent were civilian authoritarian, less than 20 percent were military authoritarian, and about 15 percent were Marxist-Leninist.

These percentages are the result of significant shifts in numbers during the past three decades (*figure 1*):

- The number of civilian authoritarian regimes had increased steadily since the mid-to-late 1950s but since 1973 has declined to about 40 percent. This category had accounted for approximately 45 percent of all Third World regime types since the early 1960s.
- Democratic regimes have maintained a relatively constant share of the total—about 25 percent—except for a surge in the early 1960s when many African states became independent.
- The proportion of military authoritarian regimes grew in the 1960s and early 1970s, accounting for as much as 20 percent of all regimes since 1955. Since 1974 the category's proportion has been declining.
- Marxist-Leninist regimes have gradually increased since 1955 but still account for only a small proportion of the total.

Since 1968, there has been a clearly discernible inverse relation between democratic and military regimes, with both types fluctuating between one-fifth and one-third of the total.

Frequency of Change

The overall number of regime changes in the Third World has steadily declined since 1965 (*figure 2*). From 1960 to 1965, 72 regime changes occurred, compared with 28 in the early 1980s. The decrease results from the establishment and persistence of constitutional regimes in Latin America as well as the relative stability of regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa.

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Trends in leadership change have been more volatile—both over time and from region to region. Latin America has experienced more leadership changes than any other region—averaging 15 changes per country since 1955. Near East–South Asia has accounted for the fewest changes—averaging six per country over the past 30 years.

Regime Change by Region

Over the last three decades, Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced the greatest number of regime changes (109), followed by Latin America (90). The Near East–South Asia and East Asia regions, respectively, have recorded significantly fewer regime changes (63 and 46).

Since the mid-1970s, Latin America has seen a dramatic increase in the number of regime changes, while the number of such changes in the Near East–South Asia and East Asia—especially during the past five years—has dropped markedly (*figure 3*). Most of the changes in Latin America have been in democratic regimes; in Sub-Saharan Africa most of the changes have been in civilian authoritarian regimes.

Mechanisms of Regime Change

Independence was the primary mechanism of regime change in the Third World from 1955 to 1965. In the mid-1970s, constitutional transitions and military coups took the lead, accounting for more than four-fifths of all regime changes (*figure 4*). While the significant proportion of military coups has remained constant, the proportion of constitutional transitions has fluctuated widely, accounting for from as little as 14 percent of all changes in any five-year period to more than 40 percent in others. Regime change by government fiat has consistently accounted for 15 percent of all regime changes throughout the period of this study.

Frequency of Coups

Although the frequency of coups has been declining in all four regions since the early 1970s, the Near East–South Asia and East Asia regions stand out as the least coup-prone (*figure 5*), with five in any five-year period in East Asia and six in the Near East–South Asian region. Our data base shows:

- Latin America accounting for 35 percent of all Third World coups, while comprising more than 20 percent of the countries. The frequency of coups in this region has declined sharply, however, from a high of 13 in the early 1960s to only three in the early 1980s.
- Sub-Saharan Africa accounting for about 33 percent of all coups, while comprising 37 percent of the countries. As is the case with Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa has shown a dramatic decline in the frequency of coups, decreasing from a high of 12 in the early 1970s to only five in the early 1980s.

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- The Near East–South Asia region accounting for about 25 percent of all Third World coups, while comprising 28 percent of the countries.
- East Asia accounting for only 10 percent of all Third World coups, while comprising 13 percent of the countries.

Durability of Regimes

This measure compares the longevity and durability of the four general regime types (*figure 6*). Military authoritarian regimes constitute the largest number of regimes in our data base, but they tend to be the least durable. Conversely, Marxist-Leninist regimes are few in number but by far the most durable:

- Only about 10 percent of all military regimes have lasted more than 10 years, fewer than 40 percent have remained in power for five years.
- Democratic and civilian authoritarian regimes have fared much better; both regime types have a significant proportion—well over one-fourth—and have remained in power for more than 10 years.
- Marxist-Leninist regimes account for less than 5 percent of all regimes, and all of the regimes have been in power for at least six years.

Confidential**Methodological Note**

This Reference Aid—and the computer data base that supports it—tracks patterns of leadership and regime change in 101 Third World countries with populations greater than 1 million since 1955. It includes 718 entries. Information was collected from a variety of unclassified sources, such as *Facts on File* and *The New York Times Index*, and verified by analysts in the Office of Leadership Analysis and in the appropriate regional offices.

The data base consists of a textual chronology of each event (organized by region) and a series of numerically coded computer entries that correspond to the chronologies. The computer package is compatible with the standard IBM personal computer.

Leadership changes are coded by the cause of the change (such as coup, assassination, and loss of parliamentary support) and the mechanism by which the new leader is selected (election, succession, imposition by the military, and so forth). Elections are termed fraudulent if the sources are in general agreement that the outcome was manipulated by such actions as ballot box stuffing, selling votes, misrepresenting the vote count, or preventing eligible voters from casting ballots. In addition, both the process of change and the selection mechanisms are aggregated to facilitate the sorting of scheduled versus unscheduled changes, as well as constitutional versus illegal selection mechanisms.

Each leadership change is recorded with the regime type noted. Regime changes are aggregated into three broad categories—authoritarian, democratic, and oligarchic—and then divided into more discrete groups. In addition, each event is coded by region, subregion, country, date, and duration. In cases where the type of regime changed but the leader did not, the regime change is entered as a new event.

The data base can be used to:

- Answer historical questions about leadership succession.
- Generate a list of coups by region, date, and the ranks of the officers involved.
- Develop a subset of events to test, for example, whether links exist between corruption and instability.
- Determine the frequency of coups versus other kinds of leadership changes over the last three decades.

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- Generate a list of heads of state who have been assassinated or died in office.
- Sort scheduled versus unscheduled, or constitutional versus unconstitutional leadership changes.

The data also are entered in an SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) file, allowing an analyst to perform simple sorting and crosstab operations as well as more sophisticated statistical manipulations, including correlation and regression analysis.

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Figure 1
Third World: Major Regime Types
by Year, 1955-85

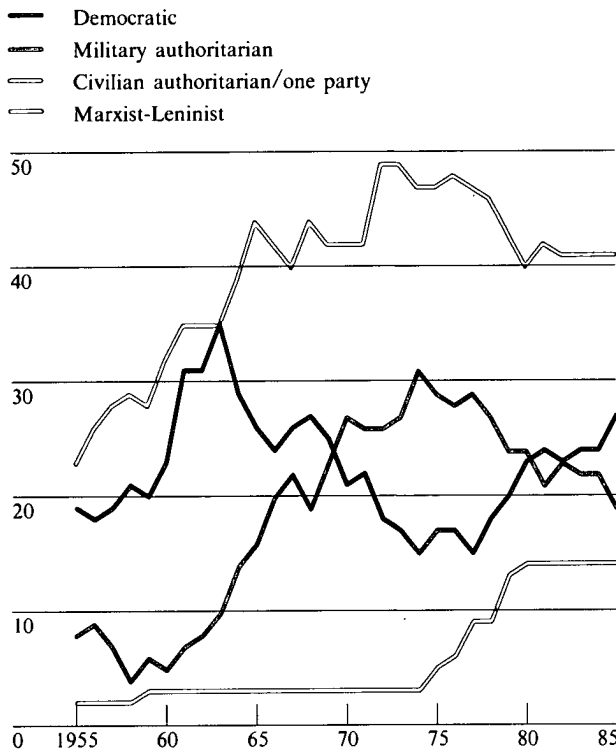
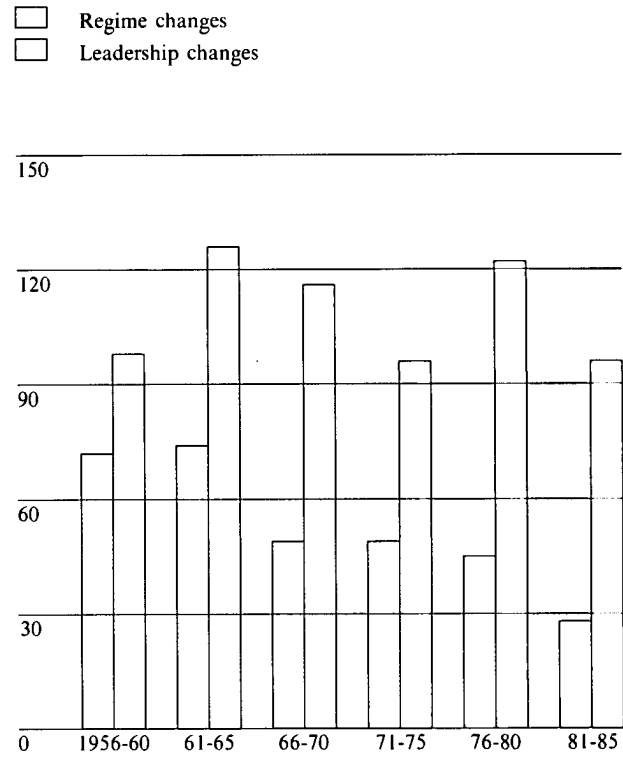


Figure 2
Third World: Frequency of Regime and
Leadership Changes, 1956-85



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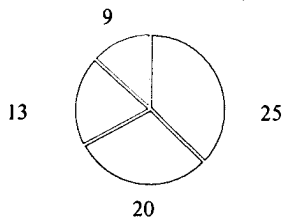
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Figure 3
Third World: Frequency of Regime Change
by Region, 1956-85

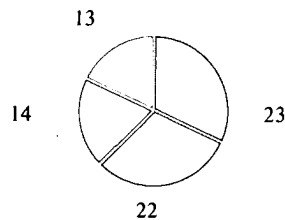
- ☐ Latin America
- ☐ Sub-Saharan Africa
- ☐ Near East-South Asia
- ☐ East Asia

1956-60

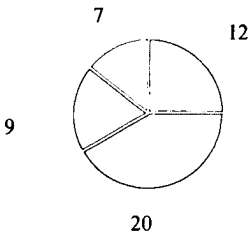
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**1961-65**

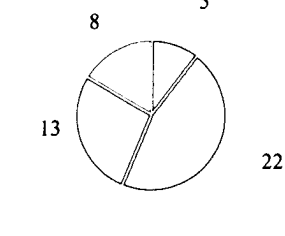
Total: 72

**1966-70**

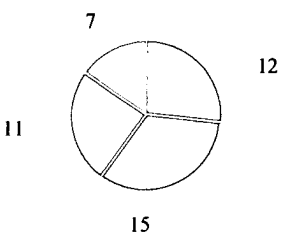
Total: 48

**1971-75**

Total: 48

**1976-80**

Total: 45

**1981-85**

Total: 28

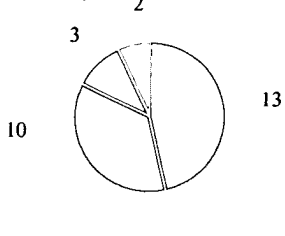
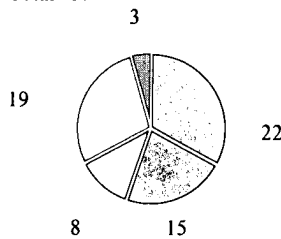


Figure 4
Third World: Regime Change Process,
1956-85

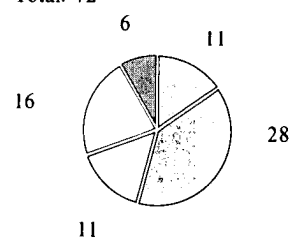
- ☐ Democratic
- ☐ Military coup
- ☐ Government fiat
- ☐ Independence
- ☐ Other

1956-60

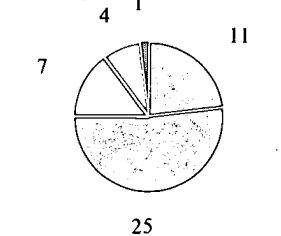
Total: 67

**1961-65**

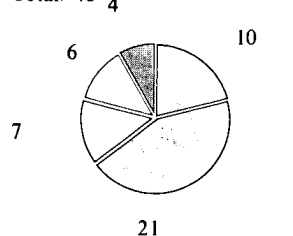
Total: 72

**1966-70**

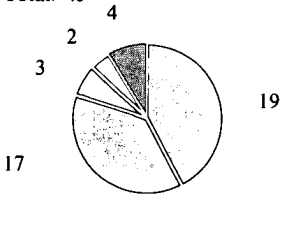
Total: 48

**1971-75**

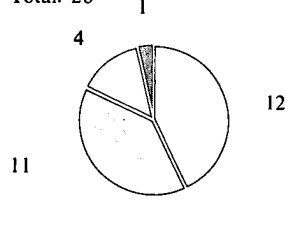
Total: 48

**1976-80**

Total: 45

**1981-85**

Total: 28



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Figure 5
Third World: Frequency of Coups
by Region, 1956-85

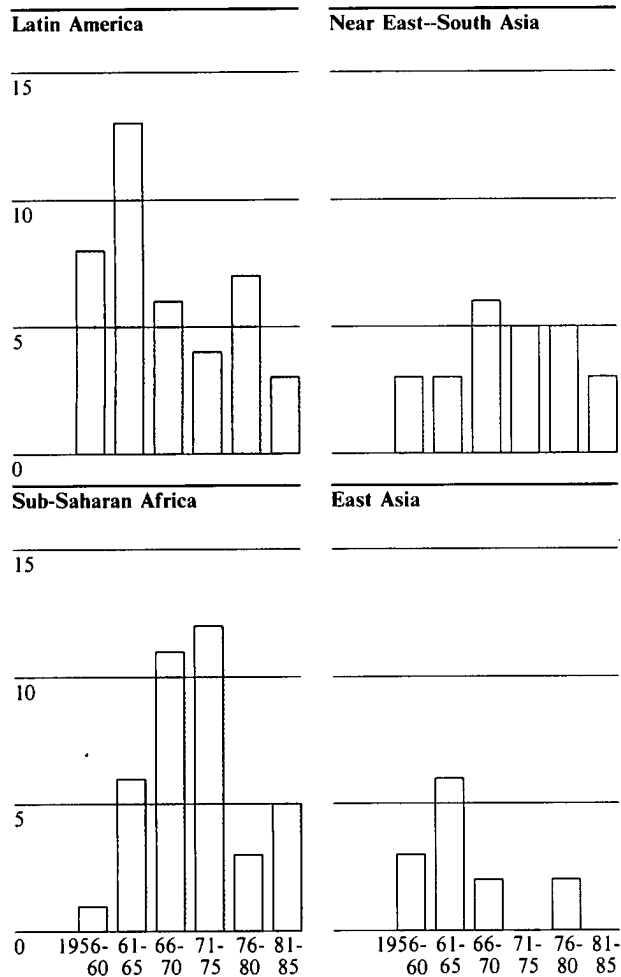
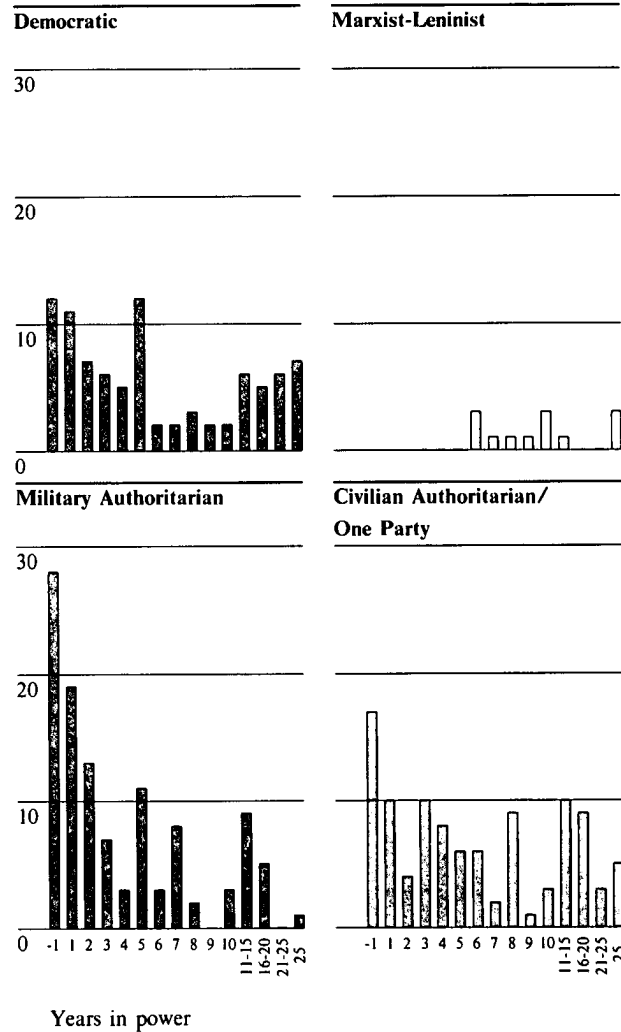


Figure 6
Third World: Regime Duration
by Type, 1956-85



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Latin America

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Latin America

Latin American countries have experienced only half as many regime changes during the past 10 years as during the first 10 years of this study. The number of leadership changes has also declined—albeit less dramatically. These trends—as well as the decline in the number of military coups—are consistent with overall Third World patterns. Latin America is unique, however, in the surge of transfers to civilian rule noted during the past five years.

Regime Types

Latin American regimes have become predominantly democratic in recent years. As of June 1986, 15 of the 22 Latin American countries in our data base were classified as democratic regimes (*figure 7*). By comparison, less than one-fifth was military regimes—including the junta now governing Haiti. Mexico represents the only civilian authoritarian regime, and Cuba and Nicaragua the only Marxist-Leninist regimes in the region.

Over the past three decades, the number of democratic and military regimes has varied inversely, reflecting much the same pattern observed for the Third World as a whole (*figure 8*). Since the mid-1970s, the number of military regimes has been decreasing sharply, while the number of democratic regimes has been increasing.

Both civilian authoritarian and Marxist-Leninist regimes have persisted at low levels. Civilian authoritarian regimes generally have accounted for from less than 5 percent to a high of 25 percent of all Latin American regimes. The Marxist-Leninist camp has been represented by Cuba, and more recently by Nicaragua.

Frequency of Changes

The numbers of regime and leadership changes in Latin America declined sharply from the mid-1950s until the mid-1970s but have increased steadily since then—a trend that runs counter to the general pattern in the Third World (*figure 9*). Most of the regime and leadership changes in the last 10 years, however, have been achieved by constitutional means as more countries adopted democratic forms of government (*figure 10*).

Mechanisms of Regime Change

Since 1956, 85 percent of all regime changes in Latin America have been by either constitutional means or military coup. Both means of regime change have varied widely over the last 30 years, with constitutional transition undergoing the greater fluctuations. The number of military coups in Latin America has declined sharply, particularly over the last five years. In general, coups by general officers have outnumbered coups by lower-grade officers, but only by a narrow margin (*figure 10*).

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Durability of Regimes

Military authoritarian and democratic regimes have accounted for a large majority of all regimes in Latin America over the last three decades (*figures 11 and 12*). One-third of all Latin American military regimes have remained in power for less than a year, and nearly three-quarters of them have lasted for no more than three years. Only one-sixth of them lasted longer than 10 years.

Latin American democratic regimes, like their military counterparts, have accounted for more than 25 percent of all regimes in power in Latin America since 1955, and they have been more durable. In fact, three democratic regimes—in Colombia, Costa Rica, and Venezuela—have remained in power for more than 25 years. Moreover, Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago have enjoyed democratic rule since gaining their independence in the early 1960s.

Of the civilian authoritarian regimes, only three—Mexico, Nicaragua, and Haiti—held power for more than 25 years, and two of these—Nicaragua and Haiti—are no longer in power. Of the Marxist-Leninist countries, Cuban President Castro has remained in power for more than 25 years and the Sandinista Directorate in Nicaragua for over six years.

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Figure 7
Latin America: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986



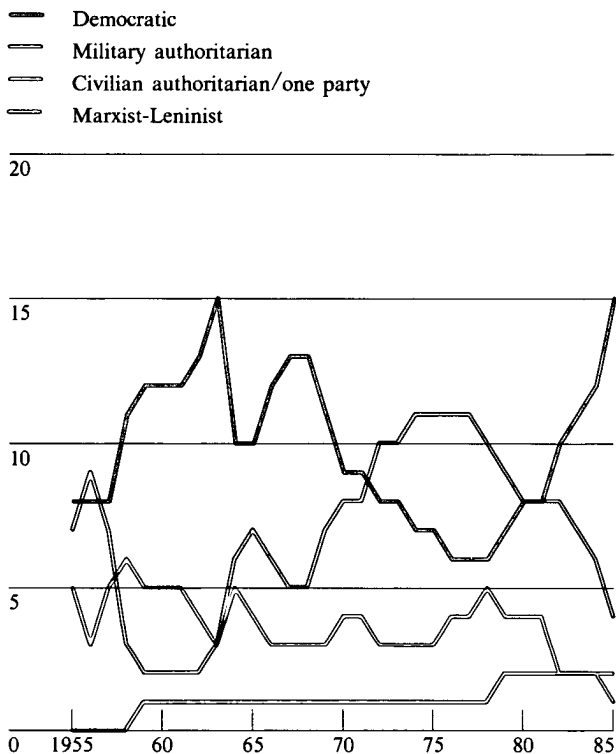
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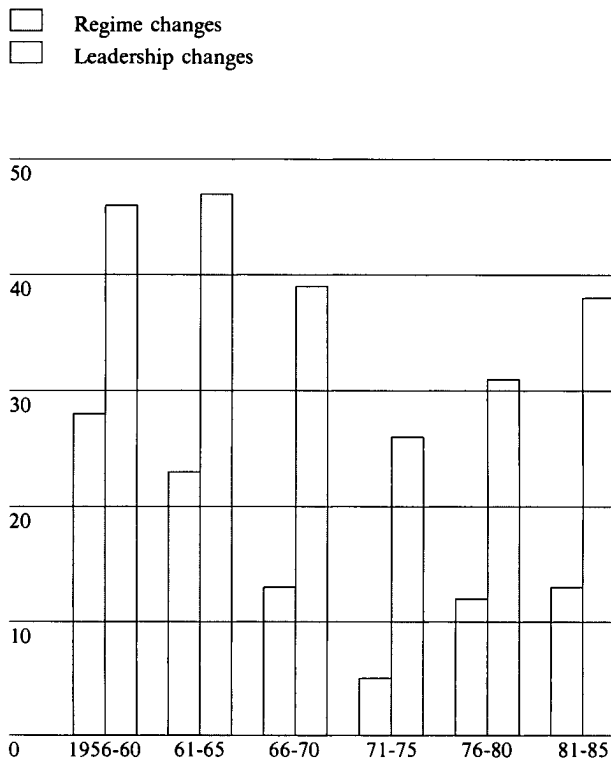
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Figure 8
Latin America: Major Regime Types
by Year, 1955-85



Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period in a given year. Countries are included at independence.

Figure 9
Latin America: Frequency of Regime and
Leadership Changes, 1956-85



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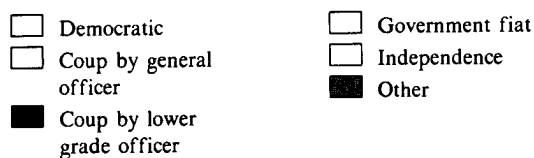
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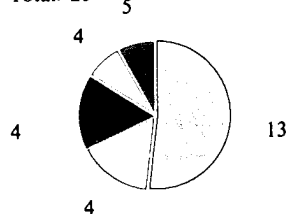
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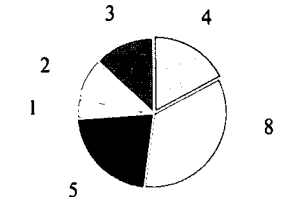
Figure 10
Latin America: Regime Change Process,
1956-85

**1956-60**

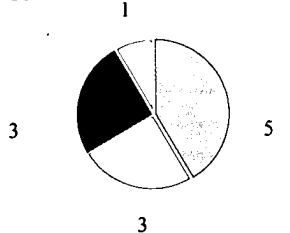
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**1961-65**

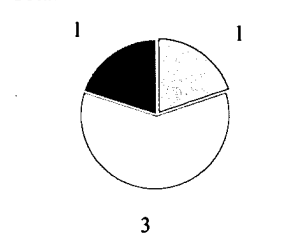
Total: 23

**1966-70**

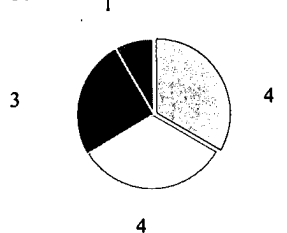
Total: 12

**1971-75**

Total: 5

**1976-80**

Total: 12

**1981-85**

Total: 13

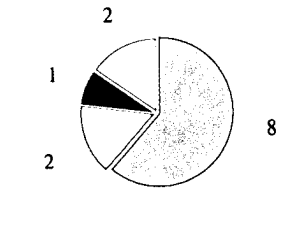
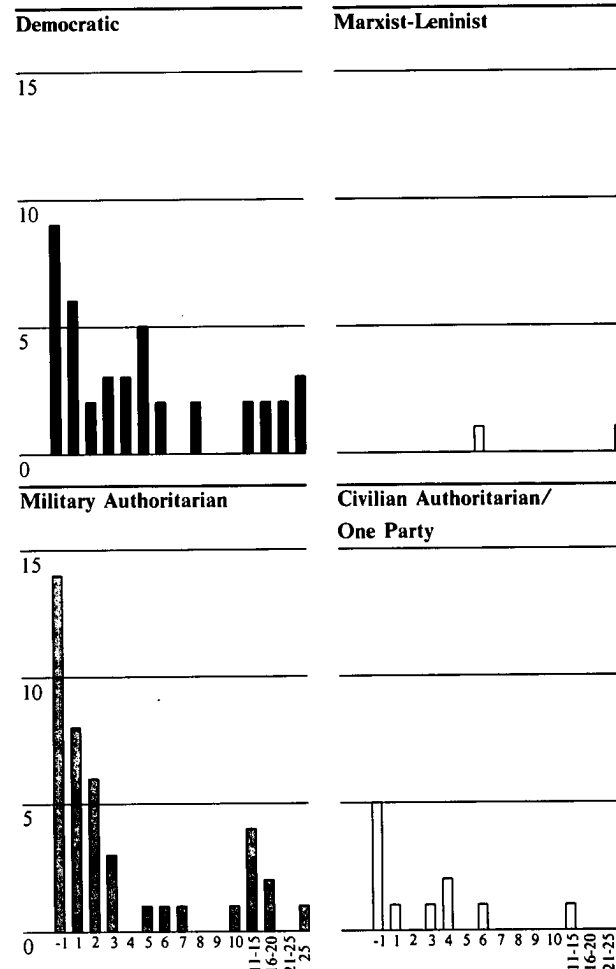


Figure 11
Latin America: Regime Duration by Type,
1956-85



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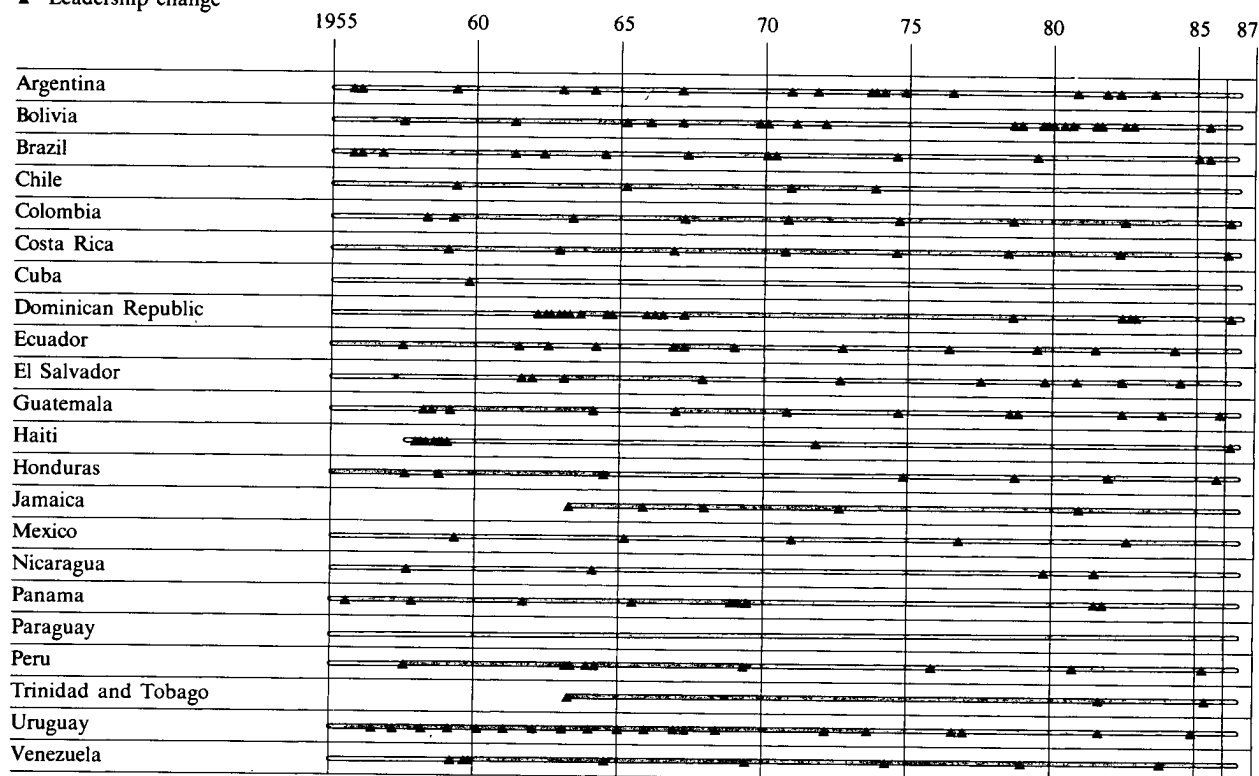
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Figure 12
Latin America: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86

- Democratic
- Military authoritarian
- Civilian authoritarian/one party
- Marxist-Leninist
- ▲ Leadership change



This graph may not agree with the appendix of leadership and regime changes because in many cases nominal leadership changes hands but a former leader or group retains actual authority.

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Confidential**Leadership Change in Latin America, 1955-86****Argentina**

1983	30 October	Raul Alfonsin elected President.
1982	22 June	Gen. Reynaldo Bignone named President by junta.
1981	22 December	Lt. Gen. Galtieri named President by junta.
1980	3 October	Gen. Roberto Viola named President by junta.
1976	29 March 24 March	Lt. Gen. Jorge Videla named President by junta. Lt. Gen. Jorge Videla and Brig. Gen. Orlando Agosti assume power after coup.
1974	1 July	Vice President Isabel Peron succeeds to presidency after death of her husband.
1973	23 September 13 July 11 March	Juan Peron elected President. Chamber of Deputies Chairman Raul Lastiri constitutionally becomes Interim President after resignation of predecessor. Dr. Hector J. Campora elected President.
1971	23 March	Lt. Gen. Alejandro A. Lanusse named President by junta after coup.
1970	9 April	Brig. Gen. Roberto Marcelo Livingston assumes power after coup.
1966	29 April	Lt. Gen. Juan Carlos Ongania assumes power after coup.
1963	31 July	Arturo Illia elected President; fraudulent election.
1962	30 March	Senate President Jose Maria Guido constitutionally succeeds to presidency after coup led by Gen. Raul Alejandro Poggi, Adm. Augustine Penas, and Brig. Gen. Cayo Antonio Alsena.
1958	23 February	Arturo Frondizi elected President; fraudulent election.
1955	14 November 17 September	Gen. Pedro Eugenio Aramburu assumes power after coup. Gen. Eduardo Lonardi heads junta after coup deposes Juan Peron.

Bolivia

1985	5 August	Victor Paz Estenssoro elected President by Congress in runoff after failing to get a majority in fair election in July.
1982	5 October 21 August	Civilian Hernan Siles Zuazo elected President by Congress; military returns power to Congress (elected in May), which in turn elects Siles Zuazo. Gen. Guido Vildoso Calderon named President by junta.

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1981	September 4 August	Gen. Celso Torrelio Villa named President by junta. Gen. Waldo Bernal Pereira heads junta after senior officers revolt.
1980	17 July May	Maj. Gen. Luis Garcia Meza Tejada assumes power after coup. Hernan Siles Zuazo elected President.
1979	16 November 1 November 6 August	Civilian Lydia Gueiler Tejada named President by civilian and military factions after resignation of predecessor. Col. Alberto Natash Busch assumes power after coup. Walter Guevara Arze elected Interim President by Congress after general election fails to produce a majority.
1978	24 November 21 August	Gen. David Padilla Arancibia assumes power after junior officers' coup. Gen. Juan Pereda Asbun seizes power after his earlier election to presidency in July is annulled by Supreme Court.
1971	22 August	Col. Hugo Banzer Suarez assumes power after coup.
1970	7 October	Gen. Juan Jose Torres assumes power after coup.
1969	27 September 28 April	Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia assumes power after coup. Vice President Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
1966	6 August	Gen. Rene Barrientos Ortuno elected President; fraudulent election.
1965	5 May	Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia and Gen. Rene Barrientos Ortuno assume power after coup; Ovando holds power from June to August.
1964	31 May	Victor Paz Estenssoro reelected President; Gen. Rene Barrientos Ortuno holds power from November 1964 to May 1965.
1960	8 August	Victor Paz Estenssoro elected President.
1956	8 August	Hernan Siles Zuazo elected President.

Brazil

1985	21 April	Jose Sarney Costa constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of Tancredo de Alameda Neves.
	15 January	Tancredo de Alameda Neves elected President.
1979	15 March	Gen. Joao Baptista Figueiredo elected President; fraudulent election.
1974	21 February	Gen. Ernesto Geisel elected President; fraudulent election.
1969	7 October	Gen. Emilio Garrastazue Medici named President by military.

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1969	31 August	Gen. Lyra Tabares, Air Marshal Marcio de Souza e Mello, and Gen. Augusto Cesar de Castro Moniz de Aragao assume power after President incapacitated by stroke.
1966	3 October	Gen. Arthur da Costa e Silva elected President by parliament; fraudulent election.
1964	3 April	Gen. Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco named President by purged Chamber of Deputies after civilian-military coup.
1961	26 August	Vice President Joao Goulart constitutionally succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor.
1960	2 October	Janio da Silva Quadros elected President.
1956	31 January	Juscelino Kubitschek inaugurated President (from 1955 election).
1955	11 November	Gen. Baptista Teixeira Lott assumes power after coup; Nereu Ramos elected Interim President by Congress; fraudulent election.
	8 August	Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Carlos Coimbra da Luz constitutionally succeeds as Acting President after predecessor (Cafe Filho) takes indefinite sick leave.
	3 October	Juscelino Kubitschek elected President (does not assume office until 1956).

Chile

1973	11 September	Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte heads junta after coup.
1970	5 September	Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens elected President.
1964	4 November	Eduardo Frei Montalva elected President.
1958	4 November	Jorge Alessandri elected President.

Colombia

1986	25 May	Virgilio Barco Vargas elected President.
1982	31 May	Belisario Betancur Cuartas elected President.
1978	4 June	Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala elected President.
1974	22 April	Alfonso Lopez Michelsen elected President.
1970	20 April	Misael Pastrana Borrero elected President.
1966	8 August	Carlos Lleras Restrepo elected President.
1962	8 August	Leon Guillermo Valencia elected President.

Confidential

Confidential

1958 4 May Alberto Lleras Camargo elected President.

1957 10 May Maj. Gen. Garriel Paris heads junta after predecessor forced to resign following riots.

April Gustavo Rojas Pinilla reelected by Constituent Assembly; fraudulent election.

Costa Rica

1986 2 February Oscar Arias elected President (democratic regime).

1982 7 February Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez elected President.

1978 5 February Rodrigo Carazo Odeco elected President.

1974 3 February Daniel Oduber Quiros elected President.

1970 1 February Jose Figueres Ferrer elected President.

1966 7 February Jose Trejos Fernandez elected President.

1962 4 February Francisco Jose Orlich Bolmareich elected President.

1958 2 February Mario Echandi Jimenez elected President.

Cuba

1959 1 January Fidel Castro comes to power through rural insurgency and urban rebellion; declares himself a Marxist-Leninist in 1961.

1958 3 November Fulgencio Batista reelected; fraudulent election.

Dominican Republic

1986 16 May Joaquin Balaguer elected President.

1982 4 July Vice President Jacobo Majluta Azar succeeds to presidency after suicide of predecessor (Antonio Guzman) during interim between Blanco's election to presidency and assumption of office in August.

16 May Salvador Jorge Blanco elected President.

1978 16 May Antonio Guzman elected President.

1974 16 May Joaquin Balaguer reelected President.

1970 16 May Joaquin Balaguer reelected President.

1966 1 January Joaquin Balaguer elected President.

Confidential

Confidential

1965	3 September	Hector Garcia Godoy becomes Provisional President with US support after resignation of predecessor.
	7 May	Antonio Imbert Barrera assumes power of civilian-military government; Francisco A. Caamano Deno is Constitutional President.
	24 April	Jose Rafael Molina Urena becomes Acting President with US support in context of civil war.
1963	22 December	Donald Reid Cabral named President by junta after resignation of predecessor.
	25 September	Civilian Emilio de los Santos named head of junta after coup led by Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras and Gen. Luis Amiama Tio.
1962	20 December	Juan Bosch elected President.
	18 January	Rafael Bonnelly named President after Air Force senior officers' coup returns Council of State to power.
	16 January	Gen. Pedro Rodrigues Echavarria leads coup that deposes Council of State and figurehead President Joaquin Balaguer.
	1 January	Council of State assumes power with US support; Joaquin Balaguer again becomes figurehead President.
1961	18 November	President Joaquin Balaguer inherits executive power after Hector and Arismendi Trujillo go into exile.
	14 November	Hector and Arismendi Trujillo assume power after Rafael Trujillo goes into exile; Joaquin Balaguer remains figurehead President.
	30 May	Rafael Trujillo Jr. assumes power after assassination of his father; Joaquin Balaguer is figurehead President.
1960	4 August	Vice President Balaguer constitutionally succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor; Rafael Trujillo retains power.
1957	16 May	Hector Trujillo reelected President; fraudulent election; Rafael Trujillo retains power.

Ecuador

1984	6 May	Leon Febres Cordero elected President.
1981	24 May	Vice President Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea constitutionally succeeds to Presidency after death of predecessor.
1979	29 April	Jaime Roldos Aguilera elected President.
1976	11 January	Adm. Alfredo Paveda Burbano, Gen. Luis Guillermero Duran Arcentales, and Gen. Luis Franco Anibal Leoro assume power after coup.
1972	15 February	Gen. Guillermo Rodriguez Lara assumes power after coup.
1968	2 June	Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra elected President; assumes dictatorial powers in 1970.

Confidential

Confidential

1966	17 November	Otto Arosemena Gomez elected President by Constituent Assembly.
	29 March	Clemente Yeroui Indaburu named consensus Provisional President by political factions.
1963	11 July	Cpt. Ramon Castro Jigon heads junta of senior officers after coup.
1961	8 November	Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy assumes power after coup led by Air Force officers.
1960	1 September	Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra elected President.
1956	1 September	Camilo Ponce Enriquez elected President.

El Salvador

1984	6 May	Jose Napoleon Duarte elected President.
1982	29 April	Alvaro Alfredo Magana Borja elected President by Constituent Assembly.
1980	13 December	Jose Napoleon Duarte named President by civilian-military junta.
1979	15 October	Col. Adolfo Arnaldo Majano and Col. Jaime Abdul Gutierrez head civilian-military junta after coup.
1977	20 February	Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero elected President; fraudulent election.
1972	20 February	Col. Arturo Armando Molina elected President; fraudulent election.
1967	5 March	Gen. Fidel Sanchez Hernandez elected President.
1962	29 April	Col. Julio Adalberto Rivera elected President; fraudulent election.
1961	26 January	Col. Anibal Portillo and Col. Julio Adalberto Rivera head anti-Communist military junta after coup.
1960	27 October	Col. Cesar Yanes heads leftist civilian-military junta after coup.
1956	4 March	Lt. Col. Jose Maria Lemus elected President; fraudulent election.

Guatemala

1985	8 December	Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo elected President (democratic regime).
1983	8 August	Brig. Gen. Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores assumes power after senior officers' coup.
1982	23 March	Gen. Efraim Rios Montt heads junta after junior officers' coup.
	7 March	Gen. Anibal Guevara elected President; fraudulent election.

Confidential

Confidential

1978	5 March	Romeo Lucas Garcia elected President; fraudulent election.
1974	3 March	Gen. Kjell Laugerud Garcia elected President; fraudulent election.
1970	21 March	Col. Carlos Arana Osorio elected President by Legislature after general election fails to produce a majority; fraudulent election.
1966	10 May	Civilian Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro elected President by Legislature after general election fails to produce a majority.
1963	1 April	Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia assumes power after coup.
1958	19 January	Gen. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes elected President after popular demonstrations force the government to void results of election in October 1957.
1957	October 27 July	Miguel Ortiz Passarelli elected President; fraudulent election. Vice President Luis Arturo Gonzales Lopez assumes power after assassination of predecessor by palace guard.
Haiti		
1986	8 February	Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy named head of military-civilian governing council after President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier flees the country during a series of popular demonstrations (military authoritarian).
1971	21 April	Jean-Claude Duvalier becomes President after death of his father.
1964	14 June	Francois Duvalier elected President for Life; fraudulent election.
1961	5 May	Francois Duvalier reelected President; fraudulent election.
1957	22 October 14 June 26 May 21 May 6 April 7 February	Civilian Francois Duvalier elected President; fraudulent election. Brig. Gen. Antonio Kebreau heads junta after coup. Piere Eustache Daniel Fignole named President by military-civilian coalition. Gen. Leon Cantave assumes power after forced resignation of predecessor. Civilian junta assumes power after forced resignation of predecessor. Civilian Frank Sylvain named Provisional President by Army after resignation of predecessor.
1956	12 December	Chief Justice Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor following general strike.

Confidential

Confidential**Honduras**

1985	25 November	Jose Azcona Hoyo elected President (democratic regime).
1981	29 November	Roberto Suazo Cordova elected President.
1978	7 August	Gen. Policarpo Paz Garcia, Gen. Domingo Alvarez, and Gen. Almicar Alaya assume power after coup.
1975	22 April	Gen. Juan Alberto Melgar Castro assumes power after junior officers' coup.
1972	4 December	Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano assumes power after coup.
1971	28 March	Ramon Ernesto Cruz elected President; fraudulent election; Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano retains power.
1965	6 June	Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano elected President by Constituent Assembly; fraudulent election.
1963	3 October	Brig. Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano assumes power after coup.
1957	21 December	Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales elected President by Constituent Assembly.
1956	21 October	Gen. Roque J. Rodriguez heads junta after coup.

Jamaica

1980	30 October	Edward Philip George Seaga elected Prime Minister.
1972	29 February	Michael Manley elected Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor.
1967	11 April 22 February	Hugh L. Shearer succeeds as Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor. Donald Sangster elected Prime Minister.
1965	January 28 November	Donald Sangster succeeds as Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor. Sir Alexander Bustamante reelected Prime Minister.
1962	6 August	Independence; Sir Alexander Bustamante previously elected Prime Minister.

Confidential

Confidential**Mexico**

1982 4 July Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado elected President; de facto one-party state.

1976 4 July Jose Lopez Portillo elected President; de facto one-party state.

1970 5 July Juis Echeverria Alvarez elected President; de facto one-party state.

1964 5 July Gustavo Diaz Ordaz elected President; de facto one-party state.

1958 6 July Adolfo Lopez Mateos elected President; de facto one-party state.

Nicaragua

1981 4 March Jose Daniel Ortega Saaveda named Coordinator of Junta; Sandinista National Directorate holds executive power.

1979 19 July Sandinista National Directorate assumes power; Marxist-Leninist state.

1974 1 September Anastasio Somoza Debayle reelected President; fraudulent election.

1967 5 February Anastasio Somoza Debayle elected President; fraudulent election.

1966 3 August Lorenzo Guerrero Gutierrez elected President by Congress after death of predecessor; fraudulent election; Somoza retains power.

1963 3 February Rene Schick elected President; fraudulent election; Somoza retains power.

1957 3 February Luis Somoza Debayle elected President; fraudulent election.

1956 30 September Luis Somoza Debayle assumes power after assassination of his father, Gen. Anastasio Somoza Garcia.

Panama

1985 28 September First Vice President Eric Arturo Delvalle named President after Nicolas Ardito Barletta deposed; Gen. Antonio Noriega retains power.

1984 6 May Nicolas Ardito Barletta elected President; fraudulent election; National Guard under Gen. Antonio Noriega retains power.

February Vice President Jorge Illueca succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor; National Guard under Gen. Antonio Noriega retains power.

1982 31 July Vice President Ricardo de la Espriella succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor; Gen. Antonio Noriega becomes head of National Guard.

March Gen. Ruben Dario Paredes del Rio assumes power of National Guard.

Confidential

Confidential

1981	31 July	Gen. Florencio Florez becomes head of the National Guard after the death of Gen. Omar Torrijos.
1978	11 October	Aristides Royo Sanchez elected President; fraudulent election; Gen. Omar Torrijos retains power.
1969	19 December	Demetrio Basileo Lakas Bahas named President by junta headed by Col. Omar Torrijos; Torrijos retains power.
1968	11 October	Col. Omar Torrijos Herrera heads junta after coup led by himself and Col. Jose Maria Pinilla; Torrijos holds power.
	12 May	Arnulfo Arias Madrid elected President.
	5 April	Marcos A. Robles reinstated as President after impeachment ruled unconstitutional.
	24 March	Vice President Max Delvalle succeeds to presidency after impeachment of predecessor.
1964	2 October	Marcos A. Robles elected President.
1960	2 October	Roberto F. Chiari elected President.
1956	2 October	Ernesto de la Guardia elected President.
1955	2 January	Second Vice President Ricardo Arias succeeds to presidency after assassination of predecessor, Jose Antonio Remon (First Vice President impeached and jailed).

Paraguay

1983	February	Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.
1978	12 February	Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.
1973	11 February	Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.
1966	1 February	Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.
1963	16 August	Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.
1958	November	Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda elected President; fraudulent election.

Confidential**Peru**

1985	14 April	Alan Garcia Perez elected President.
1980	18 May	Fernando Belaunde Terry elected President.
1975	29 August	Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudez assumes power after coup.
1968	4 October	Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado assumes power after coup.
1963	9 June 3 March	Fernando Belaunde Terry elected President. Gen. Nicholas Lindley Lopez assumes power after dispute with other members of ruling junta.
1962	18 July 29 June	Maj. Gen. Ricardo Perez Godoy heads junta after coup. Victor Raul Haya de la Torre elected President by Congress after general election fails to produce a majority.
1956	29 June	Manuel Prado y Ugarteche elected President.

Trinidad and Tobago

1981	10 November 9 March	George Chambers elected Prime Minister. George Chambers succeeds as Prime Minister after death of predecessor.
1976	13 September	Eric Williams reelected Prime Minister.
1971	24 May	Eric Williams reelected Prime Minister.
1966	7 November	Eric Williams reelected Prime Minister.
1962	31 August	Eric Williams elected Prime Minister at independence.

Uruguay

1984	25 November	Julio Maria Sanguinetti elected President.
1981	1 September	Gen. Gregorio Alvarez Armellino named President by junta.
1976	1 September 13 June	Civilian Aparicio Mendez named President by junta. Vice President Alberto Demicheli named Interim President by junta.
1973	8 February	Junta headed by Gen. Cesar Augusto Martinez and Brig. Gen. Jose Perez Caldas assume power; Juan Maria Bordaberry remains figurehead President.

Confidential

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1971	29 November	Juan Maria Bordaberry elected President.
1967	6 December	Vice President Jorge Pacheco Areco constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
1966	27 November	Oscar Daniel Gestido elected President; National Executive Council replaced by single chief executive.
	1 March	Alberto Helen Usher succeeds to presidency.
1965	7 February	Washington Beltran succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
1964	1 March	Luis Giannattasio succeeds to presidency.
1963	1 March	Daniel Fernandez Cresop succeeds to presidency.
1962	1 March	Faustino Harrison succeeds to presidency.
1961	1 March	Eduardo Victor Haedo succeeds to presidency.
1960	1 March	Benito Nardone succeeds to presidency.
1959	1 March	Martin R. Echegoyen succeeds to presidency.
1958	1 March	Carlo L. Fischer succeeds to presidency.
1957	1 March	Arturo Lezama succeeds to presidency.
1956	1 March	Alberto Zubiria succeeds to presidency.
1955	2 March	Battle Berres becomes President (National Executive Council supercedes presidential system—each member of the majority party on the council serves in rotation as president).

Venezuela

1983	4 December	Jaime Lusinchi elected President.
1978	3 December	Luis Herrera Campins elected President.
1973	9 December	Carlos Andres Perez elected President.
1968	1 December	Rafael Caldera Rodriguez elected President.
1963	1 December	Raul Leoni elected President.

Confidential

1958	7 December	Romulo Betancourt elected President.
	14 November	Dr. Edgar Sanabria named head of junta.
	23 January	Adm. Wolfgang Larrazabal heads junta after civilian-military coup.
1957	16 December	Gen. Marcos Perez Jimenez reelected; fraudulent election.

Note: Leadership change can involve both a change in the leadership and in the regime type, but all regime changes do not necessarily involve a change in leadership.

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Sub-Saharan Africa

Between 1955 and 1965, the number of independent regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa increased dramatically, from only three—Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa—in 1955 to 37 in 1965 (*figure 13*). Nearly two-thirds of the newly independent African regimes began as democracies, but only a handful of these democracies remain.

Sub-Saharan African regimes have experienced the greatest turnover in the Third World, but the pace of change has slowed considerably in recent years. For example, the number of Marxist-Leninist regimes in the region grew rapidly in the 1970s but has not increased since 1979.

Regime Types

Civilian authoritarian governments became the dominant regime type in 1965 and remain so to this day (*figure 14*). As of June 1986, one-half of all regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa were civilian authoritarian. Democratic and military regimes, respectively, account for about one-tenth and one-fifth of all regimes in the region. More than one-tenth of all Sub-Saharan African regimes are Marxist-Leninist.

Democratic regimes were well represented in the early 1960s, accounting for over one-half of all regimes in the region. Since then, the proportion of democratic regimes has declined to about one-tenth. As is the case in Latin America, the number of military regimes has varied inversely with democratic regimes since the late 1960s. The number of military regimes peaked at 16 in 1974 but has declined markedly since then.

The first Marxist-Leninist regime came to power in Benin only in 1972. Congo, Mozambique, Angola, and Ethiopia joined the Marxist-Leninist camp in the middle and late 1970s, and all remain in power.

Frequency of Change

During the period from mid-1950 to 1970 the level of regime change remained fairly constant, while the number of leadership changes varied from a low of 17 (1956-60) to a high of 45 (1966-70) (*figure 15*). From 1981-85, the number of regime changes slowed appreciably, dropping from 20 to 10 per year, but the number of leadership changes remained high.

Mechanisms of Regime Change

Independence was the dominant means of regime change in Africa until the mid-1960s. Since then, military coups and government-fiated changes have come to dominate (*figure 16*). From 1956 to 1965, independence accounted for about 60 percent of all regime change. Thereafter, independence declined as a major factor of regime change, with Djibouti and Zimbabwe achieving independence in 1977 and 1980, respectively.

Confidential

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Military coups have been an important mechanism of regime change in the region, accounting for about half of all regime changes during the past five years. Neither general officers' nor junior officers' coups have tended to dominate, although the former have outnumbered the latter over the past decade.

Durability of Regimes

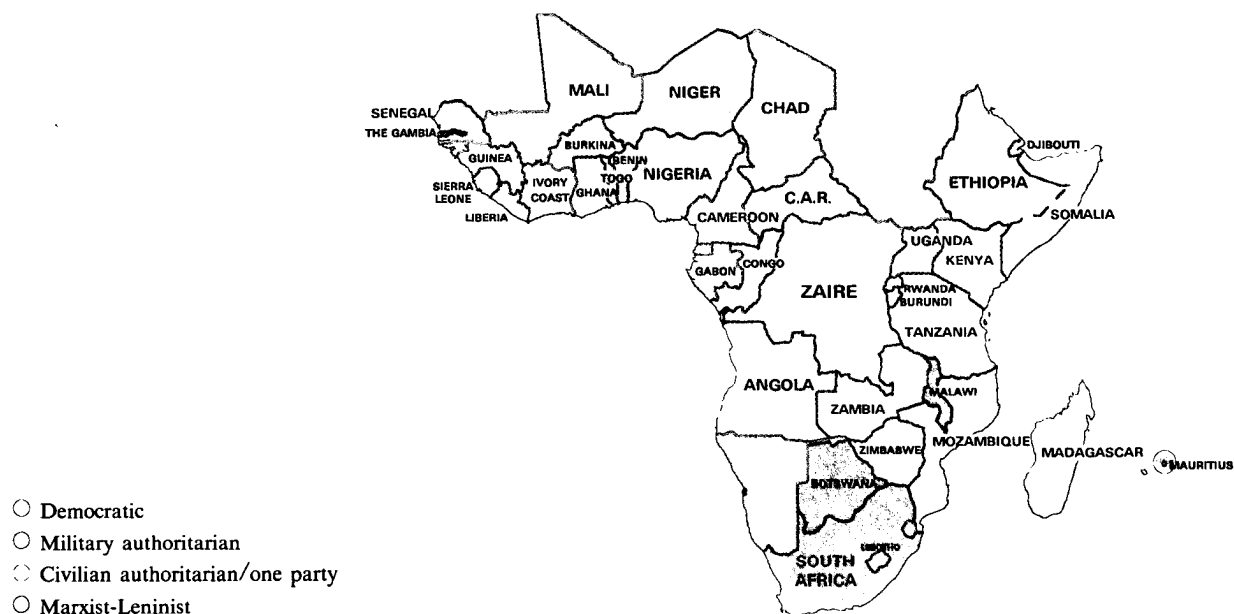
More than one-third of all African regimes during the past 30 years have been civilian authoritarian; they also have tended to be the most durable in the Third World, with nearly half of the civilian authoritarian regimes remaining in power for 10 years or more (*figure 17*). Democratic regimes have accounted for more than one-fourth of all regimes in Africa, but only one-fifth of these have remained in power for 10 or more years. Marxist-Leninist regimes conform to the general Third World pattern—few in number, but highly durable. All five Marxist-Leninist regimes have been in power for at least six years. By contrast, military authoritarian regimes account for nearly one-third of all African regimes, and slightly more than half have lasted for five years or more.

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Figure 13

Sub-Saharan Africa: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986



As of:

	1955	1965	1975
Angola			◐
Benin		○	○
Botswana			○
Burkina		○	○
Burundi		○	○
Cameroon		○	○
Central African Republic		○	○
Chad		○	○
Congo		○	○
Djibouti			
Ethiopia	○	○	○
Gabon		○	○
Gambia, The		○	○
Ghana		○	○
Guinea		○	○
Ivory Coast		○	○
Kenya		○	○
Lesotho			○
Liberia	○	○	○

	1955	1965	1975
Madagascar		○	○
Malawi		○	○
Mali		○	○
Mauritius			○
Mozambique			○
Niger		○	○
Nigeria		○	○
Rwanda		○	○
Senegal		○	○
Sierra Leone		○	○
Somalia		○	○
South Africa	○	○	○
Tanzania		○	○
Togo		○	○
Uganda		○	○
Zaire		○	○
Zambia		○	○
Zimbabwe			

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Figure 14
Sub-Saharan Africa: Major Regime Types
by Year, 1955-85

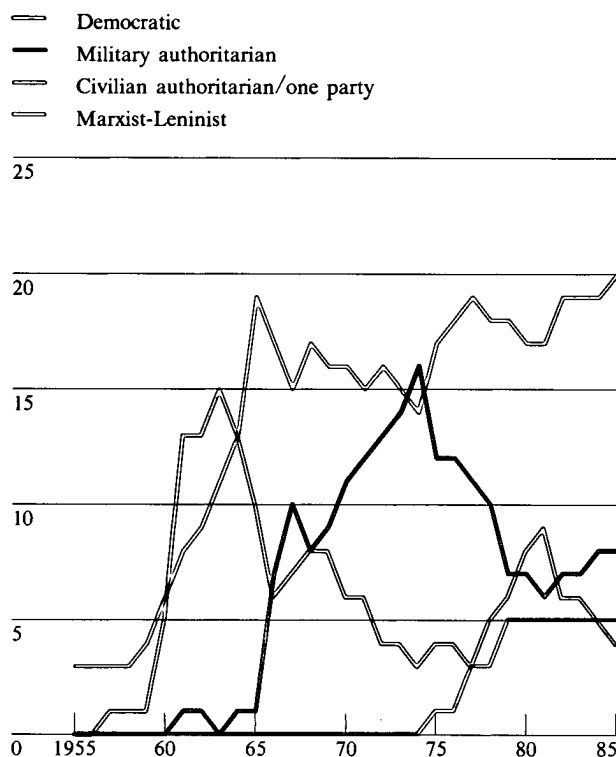
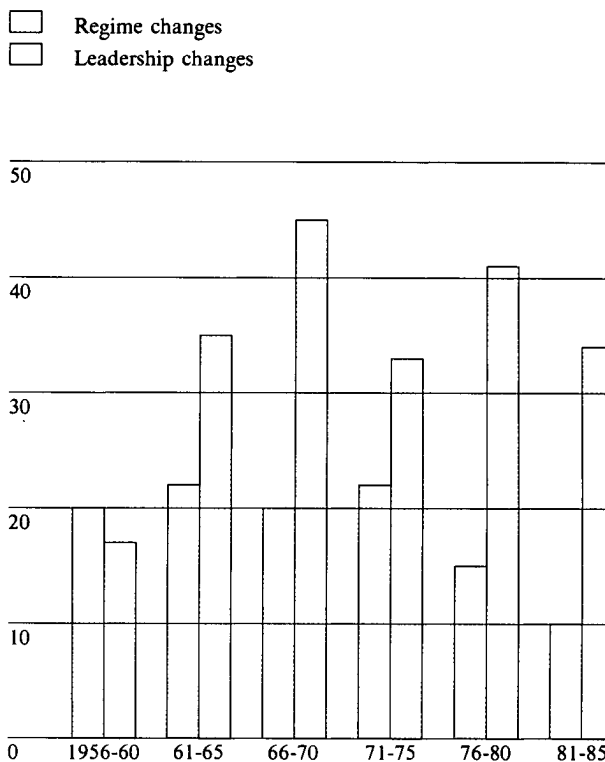


Figure 15
Sub-Saharan Africa: Frequency of Regime and
Leadership Changes, 1956-85



Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period
 in a given year. Countries are included at independence.

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34

25X1

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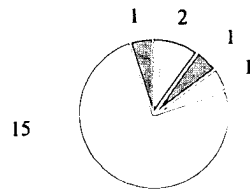
Figure 16
Sub-Saharan Africa: Regime Change Process,
1956-85

□ Democratic
 □ Coup by general officer
 ■ Coup by lower grade officer

□ Government fiat
 □ Independence
 ■ Other

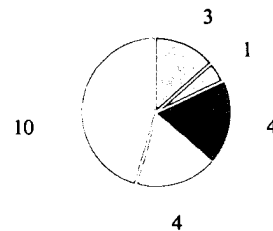
1956-60

Total: 20



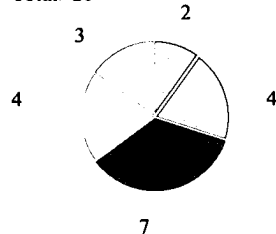
1961-65

Total: 22



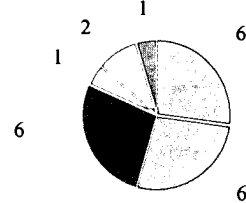
1966-70

Total: 20



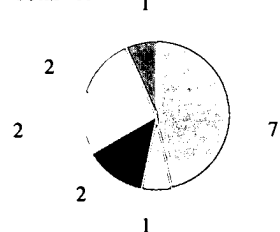
1971-75

Total: 22



1976-80

Total: 15



1981-85

Total: 10

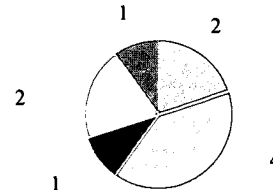


Figure 17
Sub-Saharan Africa: Regime Duration by Type,
1956-85

Democratic

15

10

5

Military Authoritarian

15

10

5

0

-1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11-15 16-20 21-25 25

Marxist-Leninist

**Civilian Authoritarian/
 One Party**

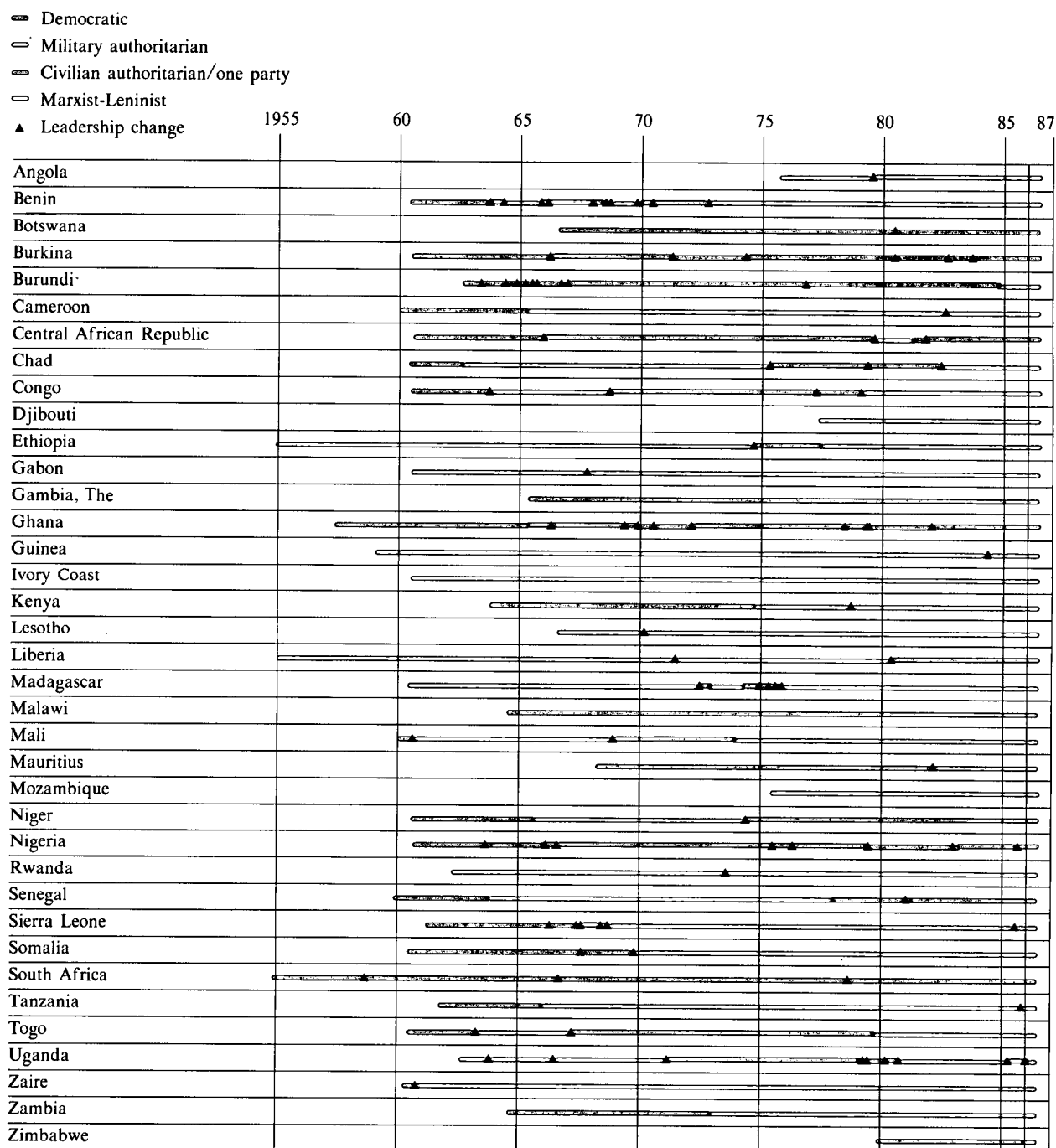
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Confidential**Figure 18****Sub-Saharan Africa: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86**

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Confidential**Leadership Change in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1955-86****Angola**

1979	20 September	Jose Eduardo dos Santos elected President by legislature after death of predecessor; Marxist-Leninist state.
1975	11 November	Independence; Dr. Agostinho Neto named President by Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Labor Union).

Benin

1980	February	Mathieu Kerekou elected President by National Assembly; Marxist-Leninist state.
1972	27 October	Maj. Mathieu Kerekou assumes power after coup; declares Marxist-Leninist state in 1975.
1970	1 May	Hubert Maga named President by junta.
1969	14 December	Lt. Col. Emile de Souza, Lt. Col. Benois Sinzogan, and Lt. Col. Maurice Kouandete head junta after coup.
1968	28 June	Civilian Emile Zinsou named compromise President by Army after Col. Alphonse Alley annuls May election.
	5 May	Dr. Basile Adjou Moumouni elected President.
1967	17 December	Col. Alphonse Alley named President after junior officers' coup led by Maj. Maurice Kouandete.
1965	22 December	Gen. Christophe Soglo assumes power after coup.
	29 November	Justin Ahomadegbe named President after coup led by Gen. Christophe Soglo.
1964	19 January	Sourou Apithy and Justin Ahomadegbe elected President and Vice President; no single executive authority; fraudulent election.
1963	28 October	Col. Christophe Soglo assumes power after coup.
1960	12 December	Hubert Maga elected President.
	1 August	Independence; Hubert Maga previously elected Prime Minister.

Confidential

Confidential**Botswana**

1980	3 July	Quett Masire elected President after death of predecessor.
1979	20 October	Sir Seretse Khama reelected President.
1974	19 November	Sir Seretse Khama reelected President.
1969	18 October	Sir Seretse Khama reelected President.
1966	30 September	Independence; previously elected Prime Minister Seretse Khama becomes President.

Burkina

1983	5 August	Former Premier Thomas Sankara assumes power after junior officers' coup.
1982	7 November	Maj. Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo assumes power after coup.
1980	25 November	Col. Saye Zerbo assumes power after coup.
1966	4 January	Lt. Col. Sangoule Lamizana assumes power after coup.
1965	3 October	Maurice Yemeogo reelected President.
1960	8 December	Maurice Yemeogo elected President.
	5 August	Independence; Maurice Yemeogo previously elected Prime Minister.

Burundi

1976	1 November	Lt. Col. Jean-Baptiste Bagaza assumes power after coup.
1966	29 November	Cpt. Michael Micombero assumes power after coup.
	9 July	King Mwami Ntare V leads palace coup and assumes power; declares one-party state.
1965	14 July	Leopold Biha elected Prime Minister after death of predecessor.
	15 January	Joseph Bamina elected Prime Minister after death of predecessor.
1964	December	Pierre Ngendandumwe elected Prime Minister.
	April	Albin Nayamoya elected Prime Minister.
1963	18 June	Pierre Ngendandumwe elected Prime Minister.
1962	1 July	Independence; Andre Muheriva previously elected Prime Minister; King Mwami Mwambutsa IV, constitutional monarch.

Confidential

Confidential**Cameroon**

1982	6 November	Prime Minister Paul Biya constitutionally succeeds to presidency after voluntary resignation of predecessor; one-party state.
1980	5 April	Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; one-party state.
1975		Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; one-party state.
1970	3 March	Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; one-party state.
1965	20 March	Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; declares one-party state in 1966.
1960	5 May 1 January	Ahmadou Ahidjo elected President. Independence; Ahmadou Ahidjo previously elected Prime Minister.

Central African Republic

1981	1 September 15 March	Gen. Andre Kolingba assumes power after coup. David Dacko elected President.
1979	20 September	David Dacko assumes power after French-supported coup.
1965	31 December	Col. Jean-Bedel Bokassa assumes power after coup; one-party state.
1960	13 August	Independence; David Dacko previously elected Prime Minister.

Chad

1982	7 June	Hissein Habre assumes power during civil war.
1979	23 March	Gen. Goukouni Weddeye assumes power during civil war.
1975	15 April	Gen. Felix Malloum assumes power after military revolt.
1969	15 June	N'Garta Tombalbaye reelected President; one-party state.
1962	11 March	N'Garta Tombalbaye elected president; one-party state.
1960	11 August	Independence; N'Garta Tombalbaye becomes President; previously elected Prime Minister.

Confidential

Confidential**Congo**

1979	8 January	Col. Denis Sassou-Nguesso assumes power after coup; Marxist-Leninist state.
1977	20 March	Col. Joachim Yoahim-Opango assumes power after assassination of predecessor.
1970	3 January	Maj. Marien Ngouabi named President by junta.
1968	4 September	Cpt. Alfred Raoul named President by junta after coup led by Cpt. Marien Ngouabi; Ngouabi retains power; declares one-party state in 1969.
1963	19 December 16 August	Alphonse Massamba-Debat elected President; one-party state. Civilian Alphonse Massamba-Debat heads junta after coup; declares one-party state.
1961	April	Abbe Fulbert Youlou reelected President.
1960	15 January	Independence; Abbe Fulbert Youlou previously assumed power with French support.

Djibouti

1981	June	Hassan Gouled Aptidon reelected President; declares one-party state in 1982.
1977	27 June	Independence; Hassan Gouled Aptidon previously elected President.

Ethiopia

1977	3 February	Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile-Mariam assumes power; Marxist-Leninist leaders.
1974	23 November	Gen. Teferi Bante named President by junta; Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile-Mariam retains power.
	12 September	Gen. Aman Michael Andom named chief executive by junta headed by Maj. Mengistu Haile-Mariam after junior officers' coup deposes Emperor Haile Selassie.

Gabon

1979	30 December	Albert-Bernard Bongo reelected President.
1973	25 February	Albert-Bernard Bongo reelected President.

Confidential

Confidential

1967 2 December Albert-Bernard Bongo succeeds to presidency after death of Leon M'ba.
19 March Leon M'ba elected President.

1960 17 August Independence; Leon M'ba previously elected Prime Minister.

Gambia, The

1982 5 May Sir Dawda Jawara reelected President.

1977 5 April Sir Dawda Jawara reelected President.

1972 29 March Sir Dawda Jawara reelected President.

1970 4 April Sir Dawda Jawara elected President by House of Representatives.

1965 18 February Independence; Sir Dawda Jawara previously elected Prime Minister.

Ghana

1981 21 December Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings assumes power after coup.

1979 10 June Hilla Limann elected President.
4 June Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings assumes power after coup.

1978 6 July Lt. Gen. Frederick Akuffo assumes power after coup.

1972 13 January Col. Ignatius Acheampong assumes power after coup.

1969 1 October Dr. Kofi Busia elected Prime Minister.

1966 25 February Col. Emmanuel Kwashie Kotoka assumes power after coup.

1960 1 July Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah elected President when Ghana becomes a republic; declares one-party state in 1964.

1957 6 March Independence; Kwame Nkrumah elected Prime Minister.

Guinea

1984 3 April Col. Lansana Conte assumes power after junior officers' coup following the death of Ahmed Sekou Toure.

1982 10 May Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.

1975 January Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.

Confidential

Confidential

1968	1 January	Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.
1961	15 January	Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.
1958	2 October 28 September	Ahmed Sekou Toure named President by National Assembly; one-party state. Independence; Ahmed Sekou Toure previously elected Prime Minister.

Ivory Coast

1985	27 October	Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.
1980	12 October	Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.
1975	16 November	Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.
1970	29 November	Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.
1965	7 November	Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.
1960	27 November 7 August	Prime Minister Felix Houphouet-Boigny elected President; one-party state. Independence; Felix Houphouet-Boigny previously elected Prime Minister.

Kenya

1983	27 September	Daniel T. arap Moi reelected President; one-party state.
1979	10 October	Vice President Daniel T. arap Moi elected President; fraudulent election; declares one-party state in 1982.
1978	23 August	Vice President Daniel T. arap Moi succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
1974	14 October	Jomo Kenyatta reelected President; fraudulent election.
1966	12 December	Jomo Kenyatta reelected President.
1964	12 December	Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta elected President when Kenya becomes a republic.
1963	12 December	Independence; Jomo Kenyatta previously elected Prime Minister.

Confidential**Liberia**

1985	29 December	Samuel K. Doe declared winner of presidential election after two months of deliberation; fraudulent election.
1980	13 April	Master Sgt. Samuel K. Doe assumes power after coup.
1975	November	William R. Tolbert reelected President; fraudulent election.
1971	23 July	Vice President William R. Tolbert constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
	20 January	William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.
1967	13 December	William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.
1963	8 May	William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.
1959	5 May	William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.
1955	3 May	William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.

Lesotho

1986	March	Maj. Gen. J. M. Lekhanya heads military council after coup.
1966	4 October	Independence; Chief Leabua Jonathon elected Prime Minister; King Moshoeshoe II constitutional monarch; Prime Minister Jonathon suspends constitution in 1970 and assumes sole power.

Madagascar

1982	26 November	Didier Ratsiraka reelected President; fraudulent election.
1975	15 June	Didier Ratsiraka elected President; fraudulent election.
1974	31 December	Lt. Comm. Didier Ratsiraka assumes power after coup.
1972	19 May	Gen. Gabriel Ramanatsoa assumes power following riots.
1960	30 June	Independence; Philibert Tsiranana previously elected President.

Confidential

Confidential**Malawi**

1976 31 May Hastings Kamuzu Banda reelected President; one-party state.

1971 6 July Hastings Kamuzu Banda elected Life-President; one-party state.

1966 21 May Hastings Kamuzu Banda elected President; one-party state.

1964 6 July Independence; Hastings Kamuzu Banda previously elected Prime Minister.

Mali

1979 19 June Moussa Traore elected President; one-party state.

1968 19 November Col. Moussa Traore assumes power after coup; declares one-party state in 1974.

1960 22 September Mali declares itself an independent republic after Senegal secedes from Federation of Mali; Modibo Keita becomes President.

Mauritius

1983 21 August Aneerood Jugnauth reelected Prime Minister.

1982 11 June Aneerood Jugnauth elected Prime Minister.

1976 29 December Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam reelected Prime Minister.

1968 12 March Independence; Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam previously elected Prime Minister.

Mozambique

1975 25 June Samora Moises Machel assumes power after war for independence; Marxist-Leninist state declared in 1977.

Niger

1974 15 April Lt. Col. Seyni Kountche assumes power after coup.

1970 1 October Hammani Diori reelected President; one-party state.

1965 30 September Hammani Diori reelected President; one-party state.

1960 9 November Prime Minister Hammani Diori elected President.

Confidential**Nigeria**

1985	27 August	Maj. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida assumes power after coup.
1983	31 December	Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Buhari assumes power after coup.
1983	6 September	Alhaji Shehu Shagari reelected President.
1979	12 August	Alhaji Shehu Shagari elected President.
1976	13 February	Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo named President by junta after assassination of predecessor during coup attempt.
1975	30 July	Gen. Murtala Ramat Mohammed heads junta after coup.
1966	1 August 16 January	Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon assumes power after junior officers' coup. Maj. Gen. J. T. Aguyi-Ironsi assumes power after unsuccessful coup attempt by Maj. Chukwuma Nzeogwu and junior officers.
1960	1 October	Independence; Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa previously elected Prime Minister.

Rwanda

1983	December	Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana elected President; one-party state.
1973	5 July	Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana assumes power after coup.
1969	October	Gregoire Kayibanda reelected President; fraudulent election.
1965	October	Gregoire Kayibanda reelected President; fraudulent election.
1962	1 July	Independence; Gregoire Kayibanda previously elected President.

Senegal

1983	27 February	Abdou Diouf elected President.
1981	1 January	Prime Minister Abdou Diouf constitutionally succeeds to presidency after voluntary resignation of predecessor.
1978	26 June	Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President.
1973	28 January	Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President; fraudulent election.

Confidential

Confidential

1968	8 March	Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President; fraudulent election.
1963	December	Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President; fraudulent election.
1960	5 September 20 August	Leopold Sedar Senghor elected President. Secession from Federation of Mali; Leopold Sedar Senghor previously elected President.

Sierra Leone

1985	28 November	Maj. Gen. Joseph Saidu Momoh succeeds Siaka Stevens as President when Stevens retires from office; one-party state.
1968	26 April 18 April	Siaka Probyn Stevens named President by junta; declared one-party state in 1978. Col. John Bangura assumes power after coup led by noncommissioned officers.
1967	24 March 17 March	Maj. Charles Blake assumes power after Army revolt and names Col. Andrew Juxon-Smith Head of State. Siaka Probyn Stevens elected Prime Minister.
1966	28 April	Albert Margai succeeds as Prime Minister after death of predecessor.
1962	25 May	Milton Margai reelected Prime Minister.
1961	28 April	Independence; Milton Margai previously elected Prime Minister.

Somalia

1980	January	Maj. Gen. Siad Barre elected President by National Assembly; one-party state.
1969	15 October	Maj. Gen. Siad Barre assumes power after coup; declares one-party state in 1976.
1967	10 June	Ali Abdar-Rashid Shermarke elected President by National Assembly.
1960	1 July	Independence; Aden Abdulleh Osman elected President.

South Africa

1978	29 September	Pieter W. Botha elected Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor.
1974	24 April	B. J. Vorster reelected Prime Minister.

Confidential

1970	22 April	B. J. Vorster reelected Prime Minister.
1966	13 September	B. J. Vorster succeeds as Prime Minister after assassination of predecessor.
1961	18 October	Dr. H. F. Verwoerd reelected Prime Minister.
1958	2 September 16 April	Dr. H. F. Verwoerd succeeds as Prime Minister after death of predecessor. J. G. Strijdem reelected Prime Minister.

Tanzania

1985	27 October	Ali Hassan Mwinyi elected President when Julius K. Nyerere left office; one-party state.
1980	26 October	Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; one-party state.
1975	26 October	Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; one-party state.
1970	31 October	Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; one-party state.
1965	30 September	Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; declares one-party state in 1965.
1964	29 October 26 April	Name changed to Tanzania; Julius K. Nyerere remains President. Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Pemba combine to form United Republic of Tanzania.
1962	8 November	Julius K. Nyerere elected President of Tanganyika.
1961	1 May	Independence; Julius K. Nyerere previously elected Prime Minister.

Togo

1967	13 January	Lt. Col. Gnassingbe Eyadema assumes power after coup; declares one-party state in 1969.
1963	16 January	Civilian Nicolas Grunitzky named President by junta after noncommissioned officers' coup.
1961	9 April	Sylvanus Olympio elected President.
1960	27 April	Independence; Sylvanus Olympio previously elected Prime Minister.

Uganda

1986	24 January	Yoweri Museveni assumes power after civil war.
1980	10 December 14 May	Milton Obote elected President; fraudulent election. Brig. Gen. David Oyite Ojok assumes power after coup.

Confidential

Confidential

1979	20 June	Godfrey Binaisa named head of caretaker government by temporary Parliament.
	11 April	Yusufu K. Lule named head of caretaker government by temporary Parliament after invasion by Ugandan rebels with Tanzanian aid.
1971	25 January	Maj. Gen. Idi Amin Dada assumes power after coup.
1966	22 February	Prime Minister Milton Obote suspends constitution and assumes sole power.
1962	29 October	Independence; Milton Obote previously elected Prime Minister.
Zaire		
1960	14 September	Col. Mobutu Sese Seko assumes power after Army mutiny by noncommissioned and junior officers, civil war, and UN intervention; declares a one-party state in 1971.
	30 June	Independence; Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Kasavubu previously elected Prime Minister and President; no single executive authority.
Zambia		
1983	27 October	Kenneth David Kaunda reelected President; one-party state.
1978	12 December	Kenneth David Kaunda reelected President; one-party state.
1973	5 December	Kenneth David Kaunda reelected President; one-party state.
1964	24 October	Independence; Prime Minister Kenneth David Kaunda becomes President; declares one-party state in 1972.
Zanzibar		
1964	26 April	Zanzibar, Pemba and Tanganyika merge to form United Republic of Tanzania with Julius K. Nyerere as President.
1963	10 December	Independence; Muhammed Shamte Hamadi previously elected Prime Minister.
Zimbabwe		
1980	18 April	Independence after civil war; Robert Mugabe elected Prime Minister.

Near East-South Asia

Confidential

Near East-South Asia

The Near East-South Asia region of the Third World has been dominated by civilian authoritarian regimes—including monarchies—for more than two decades. This regime type accounts for approximately two-thirds of all regimes in the region; many countries have experienced only civilian authoritarian rule. This continuity of regime type—and leadership—has made the Near East-South Asia region the most politically consistent in the Third World. Since 1981, the region, which includes 28 countries, has experienced only three regime changes and 13 leadership changes.

Regime Types

As of June 1986, military authoritarian and democratic regimes accounted for slightly more than half of all regime types. Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, India, and Sri Lanka were the only democratic regimes in the region, and Afghanistan and South Yemen the only Marxist-Leninist regimes (*figure 19*). The number of civilian authoritarian regimes increased slowly during the 1960s and reached a high of 23 in 1972 and 1973 (*figure 20*).

Frequency of Changes

The patterns of both regime change and leadership change have been relatively erratic, although the number of regime changes has decreased steadily in the last 15 years from a high of 13 in the early 1970s to only three in the early 1980s (*figure 21*). The number of leadership changes has fluctuated more widely over the last three decades, but has shown a marked decrease in recent years.

Mechanisms of Regime Change

Almost two-thirds of all regime changes in the Near East-South Asia region have been by authoritarian means (*figure 22*). Military coups have accounted for a gradually increasing share of all regime changes since the mid-1950s, while the number of regime changes by government fiat has been declining. Since the mid-1960s, more than two-thirds of all coups in the region have been launched by officers below the rank of general.

Durability of Regimes

Civilian authoritarian regimes have been long lived, with one-fifth remaining in power for more than 10 years (*figures 23 and 24*). About one-fourth of the civilian authoritarian regimes have been monarchies—the most stable regime type in the Third World.

Military authoritarian regimes, on the other hand, have been highly unstable. Although these regimes account for more than one-third of all regimes during the past 30 years, only one-fourth has stayed in power beyond five years—most notably in Libya and Pakistan.

The record for democratic regimes is mixed. While a handful of regimes—for example, in Algeria and Syria—have lasted two years or less, some regimes, including Israel and India, have lasted much longer.

Confidential

Figure 19**Near East-South Asia: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986**

- Democratic
- Military authoritarian
- Civilian authoritarian/one party
- Marxist-Leninist

As of:

	1955	1965	1975
Afghanistan	○	○	○
Algeria		○	○
Bahrain			○
Bangladesh			○
Bhutan	○	○	○
Egypt	○	○	○
India	○	○	○
Iran	○	○	○
Iraq	○	○	○
Israel	○	○	○
Jordan	○	○	○
Kuwait		○	○
Lebanon		○	○
Libya	○	○	○

	1955	1965	1975
Mauritania		○	○
Morocco		○	○
Nepal	○	○	○
North Yemen	○	○	○
Oman	○	○	○
Pakistan	○	○	○
Qatar			○
Saudi Arabia	○	○	○
South Yemen			○
Sri Lanka	○	○	○
Sudan		○	○
Syria	○	○	○
Tunisia		○	○
United Arab Emirates			○

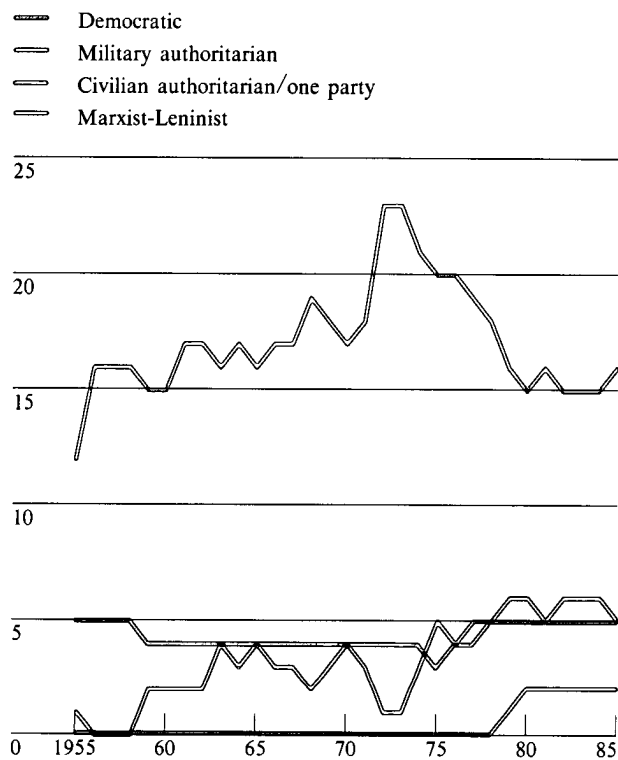
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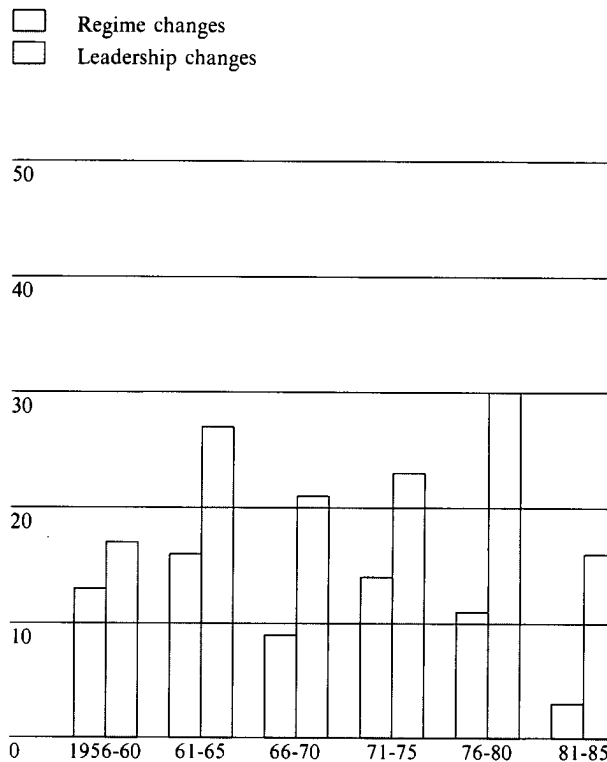
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Figure 20
Near East-South Asia: Major Regime Types
by Year, 1955-85



Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period in a given year. Countries are included at independence.

Figure 21
Near East-South Asia: Frequency of Regime and
Leadership Changes, 1956-85



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310530 11-86

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25X1

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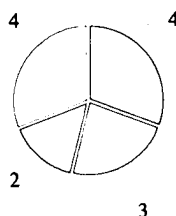
Confidential

Figure 22
Near East-South Asia: Regime
Change Process, 1956-85

□ Democratic
□ Coup by general
officer
■ Coup by lower
grade officer

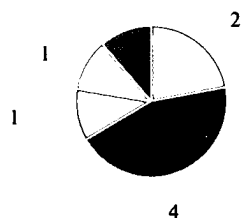
1956-60

Total: 13



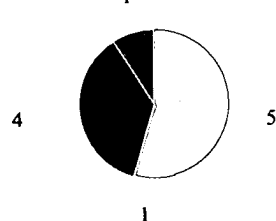
1966-70

Total: 9



1976-80

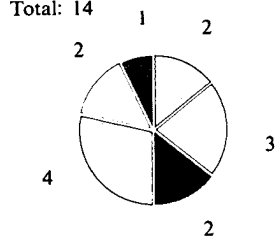
Total: 11



□ Government fiat
□ Independence
■ Other

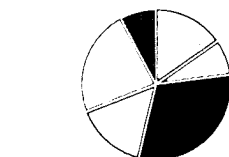
1961-65

Total: 14



1971-75

Total: 13



1981-85

Total: 3

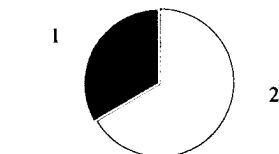


Figure 23
Near East-South Asia: Regime
Duration by Type, 1956-85

Democratic

15

10

5

Military Authoritarian

15

10

5

0 -1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11-15 16-20 21-25

Marxist-Leninist

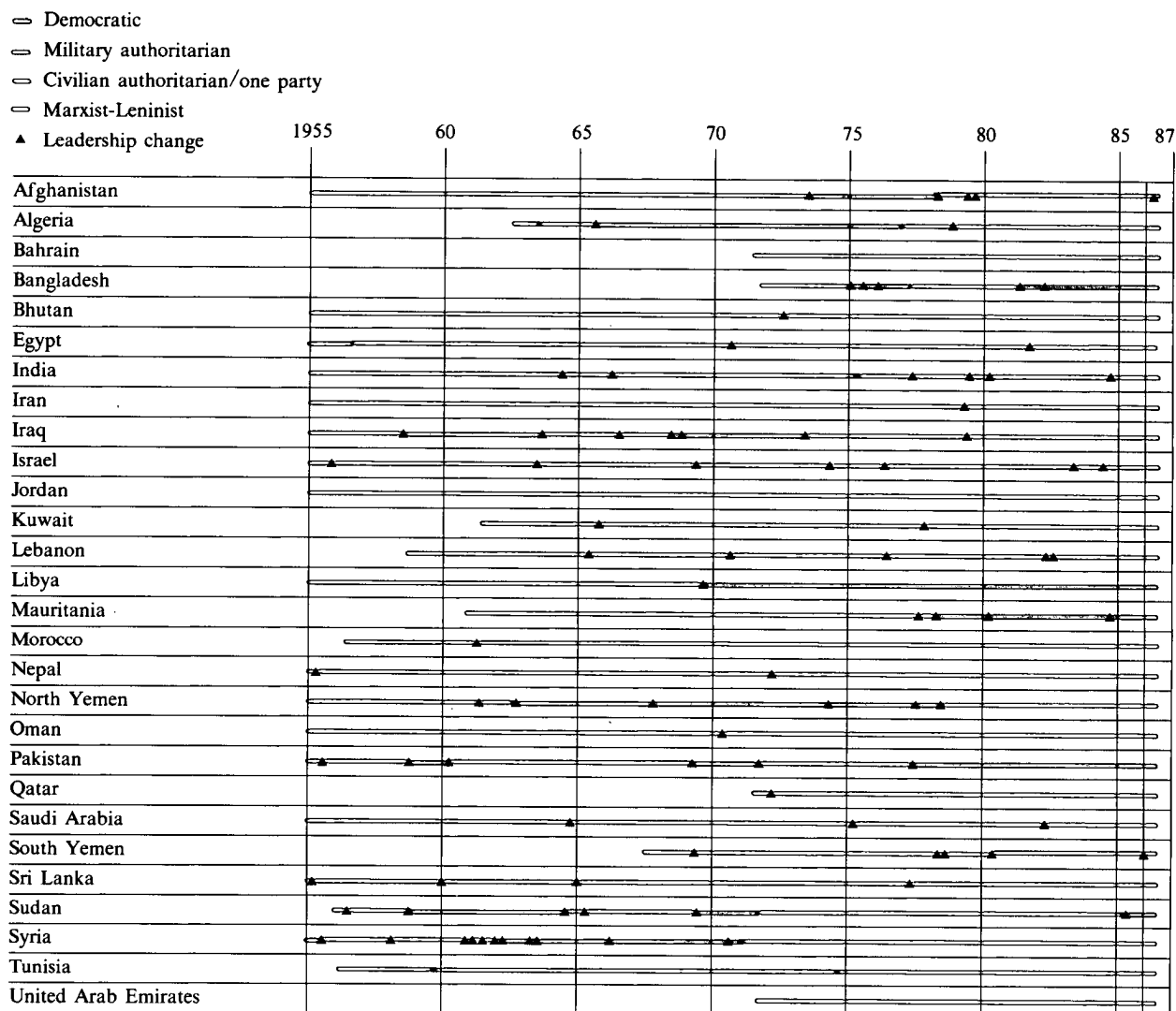
Civilian Authoritarian/
One Party

25X1

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310532 11-86

25X1

Confidential**Figure 24****Near East-South Asia: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86**

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25X1

Confidential

Confidential**Leadership Change in the Near East-South Asia, 1955-86****Afghanistan**

1986	1 May	Sec. Gen. Sayid Mohammed Najibullah becomes Prime Minister after forced resignation of Karmal.
1979	27 December	Deputy Prime Minister Babrak Karmal designated President and Prime Minister after Soviet invasion and assassination of President Hafizullah Amin; Marxist-Leninist regime.
	16 September	Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin assumes power after coup against President Nur Mohammed Taraki; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1978	30 April	Nur Mohammed Taraki designated President and Prime Minister after military coup led by Deputy Air Force Commander, Col. Abdul Qader; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1973	19 July	Gen. Mohammed Daoud assumes power after coup against King Mohammed Zahir.

Algeria

1984	12 January	Col. Chadli Bendjedid reelected President; one-party state.
1979	27 February	Col. Chadli Bendjedid elected President; one-party state.
1978	27 December	Col. Chadli Bendjedid succeeds President Houari Boumedienne after Boumedienne dies (Rabah Bitat, Speaker of the National People's Assembly, assumes the constitutional role of Acting President prior to formal election of Bendjedid).
1976	10 December	Col. Houari Boumedienne elected President; one-party state.
1965	19 June	Defense Minister Houari Boumedienne assumes power after coup led by senior officers; heads Council of the Revolution.
1963	15 September	Ahmed Ben Bella elected President; fraudulent election; one-party state declared.
1962	25 September	Independence; Ferhat Abbas elected President and Ahmed Ben Bella elected Prime Minister.

Bahrain

1971	15 August	Independence; the United Kingdom relinquishes sovereignty to Shakyh Isa bin Sulman Al Khalifa.
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Confidential

Confidential**Bangladesh**

1982 24 March Lt. Gen. Hussain Mohammed Ershad assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after coup led by senior officers.

1981 15 November Acting President Abdus Sattar elected President.
31 May Vice President Abdus Sattar constitutionally succeeds Gen. Ziaur Rahman as President after assassination of Rahman in abortive Army coup.

1978 3 June Gen. Ziaur Rahman formally elected President.

1977 21 April Gen. Ziaur Rahman formally assumes presidency after Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayem resigns because of ill health (Ziaur Rahman had previously assumed the title of Chief Martial Law Administrator in November 1976).

1975 6 November Gen. Ziaur Rahman assumes power after assassination of Maj. Gen. Khalid Musharef in counter coup; Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem designated figurehead President and Chief Martial Law Administrator.
3 November Maj. Gen. Khalid Misharef assumes power after military coup.
15 August Minister Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed designated President and Chief Martial Law Administrator after junior officers' coup in which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is assassinated.

1971 23 December Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared President by rebel leaders when Bangladesh secedes from Pakistan.

Bhutan

1974 2 June Jigme Singye Wangchuck crowned King.

1972 24 July Crown Prince Jigme Singye Wangchuck assumes throne after death of father, Maharaja Jigme Dorji Wangchuck.

Egypt

1981 24 October Mohammad Hosni Mubarak elected President.
6 October Mohammad Hosni Mubarak succeeds President Anwar Sadat after Sadat's assassination (Abu Talib, Speaker of the People's Assembly, holds nominal power as Acting President).

1979 16 June Anwar Sadat reelected President; one-party state ends; fraudulent election.

1970 15 October Anwar Sadat elected President.
28 September Anwar Sadat constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of Gamal Abd al-Nasir; one-party state.

Confidential

Confidential

1965	16 March	President Gamal Abd al-Nasir reelected; one-party state.
1956	24 June	Head of State Gamal Abd al-Nasir elected President following announcement of new constitution; one-party state.
India		
1984	4 November	Rajiv Gandhi elected Prime Minister.
	31 October	Indira Gandhi assassinated; Rajiv Gandhi designated Prime Minister in emergency cabinet meeting.
1980	15 January	Indira Gandhi elected Prime Minister.
1979	28 July	Charan Singh constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Morarji Desai after Desai resigned.
1977	24 March	Morarji Desai, Janata leader, elected Prime Minister; state of emergency revoked.
1975	26 June	Indira Gandhi assumes temporary dictatorial powers; state of emergency declared.
1971	17 December	Indira Gandhi reelected Prime Minister.
1967	15 January	Indira Gandhi elected Prime Minister.
1966	19 January	Indira Gandhi constitutionally succeeds Lal Bahdur Shastri after Shastri's death.
1964	2 June	Lal Bahdur Shastri constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru after Nehru's death.
Iran		
1979	6 January	Ayatollah Khomeini assumes power as head of Revolutionary Council when Muhammed Reza Shah Pelavi abdicates his throne and leaves the country.
Iraq		
1979	17 July	Saddam Husayn succeeds President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr after Bakr resigns (Husayn had previously gained de facto power as Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and vice chairman of the Ba'th party).

Confidential

Confidential

1973	7 July	Saddam Husayn becomes coleader after abortive coup attempt by Chief of the Security Police, Nazim Kazzar (Husayn's civilian leadership role had been steadily growing for several years preceding the Kazzar uprising).
1968	30 July	President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr ousts Col. Abd al-Razzaq al-Nayif in military coup.
	17 July	Maj. Gen. Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr and Col. Abd al-Razzaq al-Nayif seize power after military coup.
1966	16 April	Maj. Gen. Abd al-Rahman Arif succeeds his brother who is killed in a plane crash.
1963	18 November	President Abd al-Salam Arif ousts Prime Minister Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr and other Ba'thists after senior officer's military coup and establishes Revolutionary Command Council.
1958	14 July	Brig. Gen. Abd al-Karim Qasim seizes power from King Faysal II after military coup.

Israel

1984	9 September	Shimon Peres becomes Prime Minister, forms a loose coalition government nearly three weeks after close parliamentary elections give no clear winner.
1983	10 October	Yitzhak Shamir sworn in as Prime Minister after Manachem Begin resigns.
1977	21 June	Manachem Begin elected Prime Minister.
	22 April	Shimon Peres assumes power after Yitzhak Rabin resigns.
1974	10 April	Yitzhak Rabin succeeds Prime Minister Golda Meir after Meir resigns.
1969	17 March	Golda Meir sworn in as Prime Minister after death of Levi Eshkol.
1963	19 June	Levi Eshkol becomes Prime Minister after David Ben-Gurion resigns.
1955	3 November	David Ben-Gurion confirmed as Prime Minister.

Jordan

1952	11 August	King Hussein assumes throne replacing his father, King Talal, who is deposed by parliament on grounds of mental incompetence.
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Confidential**Kuwait**

1977 31 December Crown Prince Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah assumes throne after his cousin Shaykh Saban dies.

1965 27 November Shaykh Saban al-Salim al-Sabah appointed monarch after Shaykh Abdullah dies.

1961 19 June Independence; Shaykh Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah assumes power as ruling monarch (Amir).

Lebanon

1982 21 September Amin Gemayel elected President by National Assembly after Bashir Gemayel assassinated.

23 August Bashir Gemayel elected President by National Assembly.

1976 8 May Ilyas Sarkis elected President by National Assembly.

1960 17 June Sulayman Franjiyah elected President by National Assembly.

1964 18 August Charles Hilu elected President by National Assembly.

1958 1 August Gen. Fuad Shibab elected President by National Assembly.

Libya

1969 1 September Col. Muammar Qadhafi assumes power as head of a 12-member Revolutionary Command Council after junior officers' coup deposes King Idris I.

Mauritania

1984 12 December Col. Maaouiya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya assumes power after coup.

1980 4 January Lt. Col. Mohammed Khouna Ould Haidalla assumes power after coup.

1978 11 July Lt. Col. Mustapha Ould Salek assumes power after coup; names Lt. Col. Mohammed Mahmoud Ould Loly President in 1979.

1966 7 August Moktar Ould Dadah reelected President; fraudulent election.

1961 20 August Moktar Ould Dadah elected President; fraudulent election.

1960 28 October Independence; Moktar Ould Dadah previously elected Prime Minister; fraudulent election.

Confidential

Confidential**Morocco**

- 1961 3 March King Hassan II assumes throne after the death of his father King Mohamed V.
- 1956 2 March Independence; France and Spain relinquish sovereignty to King Mohamed V.

Nepal

- 1973 31 January Prince Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev assumes throne after death of his father, King Mahendra.
- 1955 14 March Crown Prince Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev assumes throne after death of his father, King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah Dev.

North Yemen

- 1978 17 July Col. Ali Abdallah Salih elected President by Assembly after Ahmad Husayn al-Ghashmi assassinated.
- 1977 12 October Lt. Col. Ahmad Husayn al-Ghashmi assumes power as head of three-man Presidential Council after Col. Ibrahim al-Hamdi assassinated.
- 1974 13 June Lt. Col. Ibrahim al-Hamdi assumes power as head of seven-man Military Command Council after military coup.
- 1967 5 November Civilian Abd al-Rahmin al-Iryani assumes power as head of three-man Presidential Council after military coup.
- 1962 29 September Col. Abdallah Sallal assumes power after military coup.
- 1961 26 June Prince Saifal Islam al-Badr designated Imam and Prime Minister by his father, Imam Saifal Islam Ahmad al-Badr.

Oman

- 1970 23 July Qaboos bin Said ousts his father, Sultan Said bin Taimur Al Bin Said, in civilian coup.

Pakistan

- 1985 31 December Gen. Zia-ul-Haq becomes President as martial law ends; Mohammed Khan Junejo designated Prime Minister.

Confidential

1977	5 July	Gen. Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after Army coup.
1973	14 August	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto designated Prime Minister under new constitution.
1971	20 December	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto designated President and Chief Martial Law Administrator by military leaders after resignation of Yahya Khan.
1969	25 March	Gen. Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after resignation of President Ayub Khan.
1965	2 January	President Ayub Khan reelected President; fraudulent election (constitutional government based on indirect election had been formally reinstated in June 1962).
1960	14 February	Prime Minister Mohammed Ayub Khan elected President; fraudulent election.
1958	27 October	Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after coup against Iskander Mirza.
1955	15 August	Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza constitutionally succeeds Governor General Ghulam Mohammed after Mohammed requests a two-month leave of absence for health reasons.

Qatar

1972	22 February	Prime Minister Shaykh Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani assumes power as Amir following coup approved by the royal family.
1971	3 September	Independence; Shaykh Hamad bin Ali bin Abdallah Al Thani inherits supreme power as Amir.

Saudi Arabia

1982	13 June	Crown Prince Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud assumes throne after his half brother, King Khalid, dies.
1975	25 March	Crown Prince Khalid bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud assumes throne after his half brother, King Faysal, assassinated.
1964	28 March	Crown Prince Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz assumes power after his brother King Saud abdicates.

Confidential

Confidential**South Yemen**

1986	26 February	Prime Minister Haydar Abu Bakr al-Attas named President after Ali Nasir Muhammed al-Hasani is overthrown by the extreme faction of the Yemeni Socialist Party.
1980	23 April	Prime Minister Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani constitutionally succeeds President Abd al-Fattah Ismail after Ismail resigns.
1978	27 December	Abd al-Fattah Ismail elected President of Supreme People's Council; Marxist-Leninist state declared in mid-October 1978.
	27 June	Prime Minister Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani designated President by Supreme People's Council after Salim Rubayi Ali is executed during coup led by rival faction of the ruling National Liberation Front.
1969	23 June	Salim Ali assumes power as Chairman of five-member Presidential Council after coup (led by the Supreme General Command of the National Liberation Front).
1967	29 November	Independence; Qahtan al-Shabi designated President by National Liberation Front.

Sri Lanka

1982	20 October	Junius R. Jayewardene reelected President.
1978	5 February	Prime Minister Junius R. Jayewardene elected President when government changed to presidential system.
1977	23 July	Junius R. Jayewardene elected Prime Minister.
1970	27 May	Sirimavo Bandaranaike elected Prime Minister.
1965	22 March	Dudley Senanayakje elected Prime Minister.
1960	20 July	Sirimavo Bandaranaike elected Prime Minister.
1959	26 September	Wijeyananda Dehanayake becomes Prime Minister after assassination of Solomon Bandaranaike.
1956	10 April	Solomon W. R. D. Bandaranaike elected Prime Minister.

Confidential

Confidential**Sudan**

1986	6 March	Sadiq Siddiq al-Mahdi elected Prime Minister by Constituent Assembly.
1985	6 April	Transitional Military Council led by Gen. Suwar El Dahab assumes power after senior officers' coup.
1977	20 April	Gaafar Nimeiri reelected President; one-party state.
1971	12 October	Gaafar Nimeiri elected President; one-party state declared.
1969	25 May	Col. Gaafar Nimeiri assumes power after military coup.
1965	8 July	Ismail al-Azhari elected President of Supreme Council by parliament.
1964	15 November	Five-man Council of Sovereignty (civilian) assumes power after resignation of Gen. Ibrahim Abboud.
1958	17 November	Gen. Ibrahim Abboud assumes power after Army coup.
1956	5 July 1 January	Abdallah Khalil succeeds Prime Minister Ismail al-Azhari after Azhari resigns. Independence; civilian Ismail al-Azhari designated Prime Minister by five-member Supreme Council.

Syria

1978	8 February	Hafiz al-Assad reelected President; fraudulent election.
1971	12 March	Hafiz al-Assad formally elected President; fraudulent election.
1970	18 November	Lt. Gen. Hafiz al-Assad assumes power after military coup.
1966	27 February	Nur al-Din al-Atassi designated President after military coup led by Maj. Gen. Salah al-Jadid.
1963	27 July	Gen. Amin al-Hafiz succeeds Lt. Gen. Luwai Atassi as Chairman of the Revolutionary Council after Atassi resigns.
	8 March	Col. Luwai Atassi assumes power as Chairman of the Revolutionary Council after military coup.
1962	13 April	Deposed former President Nazim al-Qudsi released from Army custody and reinstated as President after rebellion led by Col. Luwai Atassi.
	28 March	Gen. Abd al-Karim Nahlawi assumes power after coup led by Nahlawi and Maj. Gen. Abd al-Karim Zahreddin.

Confidential

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1961	14 December	Dr. Nazim al-Qudsi elected President by National Assembly following national elections.
	20 November	Izzat al-Nus designated head of 10-man transitional cabinet by military high command.
	29 September	Dr. Ma'mun al-Kuzbari designated Prime Minister after Syria secedes from the United Arab Republic following military coup led by Lt. Col. Abd al-Karim Nahlawi.
1958	22 February	Gamal Abd al-Nasir designated President after vote to unite Syria and Egypt in the United Arab Republic; one- party state.
1955	6 September	Shurki al-Quwatli elected civilian President by Syrian parliament after resignation of Hashim Atassi.

Tunisia

1974	2 November	Habib Bourguiba elected President for Life.
1969	2 November	Habib Bourguiba reelected President.
1964	8 November	Habib Bourguiba reelected President.
1959	8 November	Habib Bourguiba reelected President.
1956	8 April 21 March	Habib Bourguiba elected President by National Assembly; one-party state. Independence; Premier Tahan ben Ammar and Habib Bourguiba, president of Neodestour Party, share power; one-party state carries over from independence.

United Arab Emirates

1981	2 December	Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan reelected President by Supreme Council.
1976	2 December	Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan reelected President by Supreme Council.
1971	2 December	Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan elected President by Supreme Council made up of six original Amirs.

Note: Leadership change can involve both a change in the leadership and in the regime type, but all regime changes do not necessarily involve a change in leadership.

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East Asia

Although no particular regime type has been dominant in East Asia—which includes 14 countries—civilian authoritarian governments account for the largest number of regimes in the region over the last three decades (*figure 25*). Democratic regimes are also well represented, and the number of Marxist-Leninist regimes has increased significantly since the mid-1970s.

Regime Types

Civilian authoritarian regimes represent almost 30 percent of all regimes in the region (*figure 26*). The number of military regimes peaked in the mid-to-late 1960s, but since then has steadily declined to two in the early 1980s. As of June 1986, Marxist-Leninist regimes represented more than one-third of all regimes in the region, and democratic regimes just over one-fifth.

Before 1975, the only Marxist-Leninist regimes were North Korea and North Vietnam. By 1977, South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia had become Marxist, replacing authoritarian governments.

After declining in the latter part of the 1950s, the number of democratic regimes in East Asia remained steady over the last three decades.

Frequency of Changes

The frequency of regime change in East Asia has shown a general pattern of decline, with a high of 13 regime changes recorded from 1961 to 1965 and a low of two from 1981 to 1985. The frequency of leadership change has varied more widely, declining from 20 in the late 1970s to eight in the early 1980s (*figure 27*).

Mechanisms of Regime Changes

Half of all regime changes in East Asia have resulted from coups or government fiat; constitutional transitions account for only one-third of all regime changes. Over the past decade, however, constitutional change was the primary mechanism of regime change (*figure 28*).

Durability of Regimes

Civilian authoritarian regimes generally have proved to be durable in East Asia, with more than 20 percent lasting for 10 years or more (*figures 29 and 30*). Conversely, military regimes, which have constituted nearly 30 percent of all East Asian regimes during the past 30 years, have been highly unstable. Only in Burma and Thailand have military regimes remained in power for more than 10 years.

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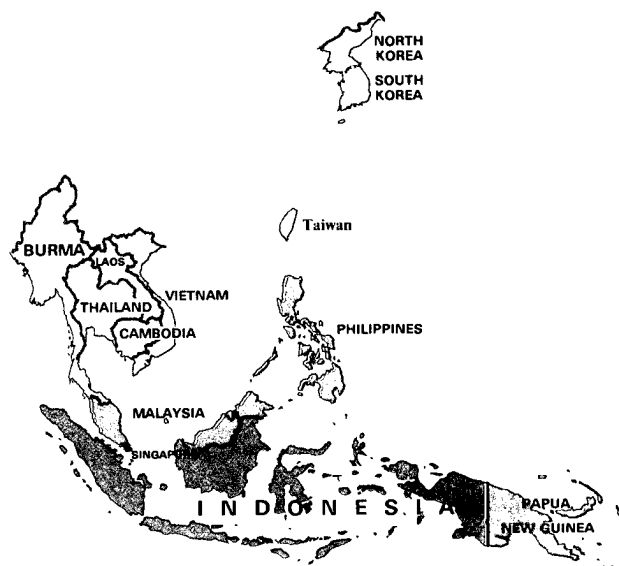
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Democratic regimes have been relatively durable, with Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines—in earlier years—experiencing democratic rule for 10 or more years. On the other hand, democratic rule has been short lived in some countries—lasting less than two years, for example, in South Korea and Thailand. The Marxist-Leninist regimes have proved exceptionally stable. The North Korean and Vietnamese regimes have been in power for more than 25 years, and the Marxist regimes in Laos and Cambodia have been in power for 10 years or more.

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Figure 25
East Asia: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986



- ☐ Democratic
- ☐ Military authoritarian
- ☐ Civilian authoritarian/one party
- ☐ Marxist-Leninist

As of:

	1955	1965	1975
Burma	☐	☐	☐
Cambodia (Kampuchea)	☐	☐	☐
Indonesia	☐	☐	☐
Laos	☐	☐	☐
Malaysia		☐	☐
North Korea	☐	☐	☐
North Vietnam	☐	☐	☐
Papua New Guinea			☐
Philippines	☐	☐	☐
Singapore		☐	☐
South Korea	☐	☐	☐
South Vietnam	☐	☐	☐
Taiwan	☐	☐	☐
Thailand	☐	☐	☐

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Figure 26
East Asia: Major Regime Types
by Year, 1955-85

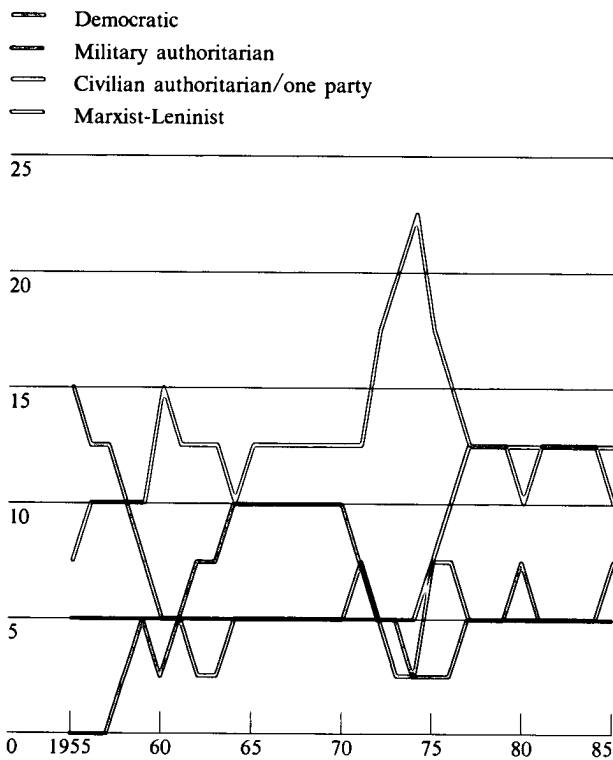
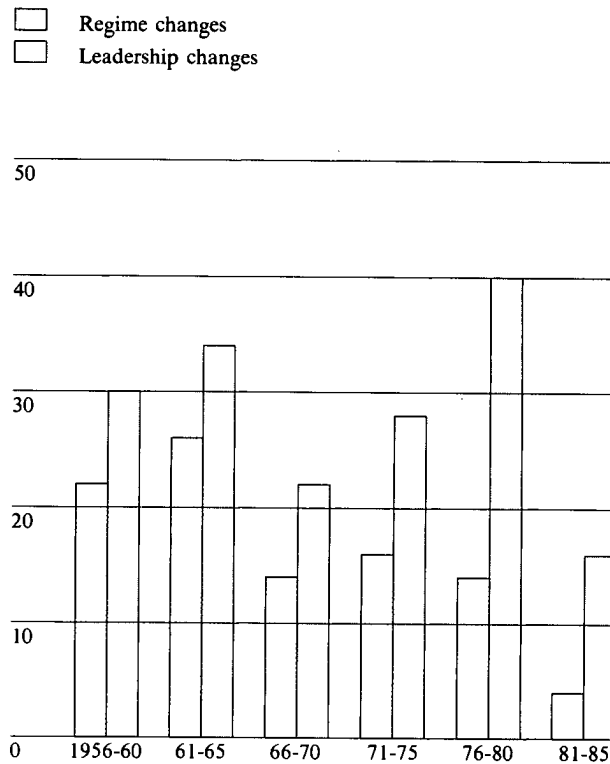


Figure 27
East Asia: Frequency of Regime and
Leadership Changes, 1956-85



Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period in a given year. Countries are included at independence.

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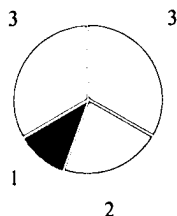
Figure 28
East Asia: Regime Change Process, 1956-85

□ Democratic
□ Coup by general officer
■ Coup by lower grade officer

□ Government fiat
□ Independence
■ Other

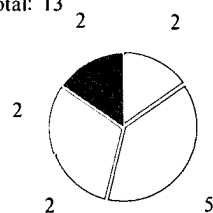
1956-60

Total: 9



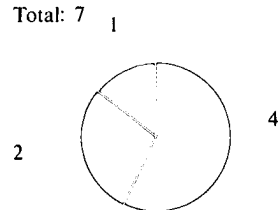
1961-65

Total: 13



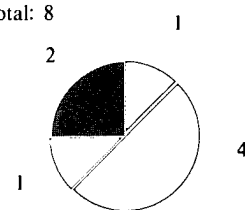
1966-70

Total: 7



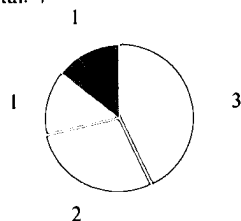
1971-75

Total: 8



1976-80

Total: 7



1981-85

Total: 2

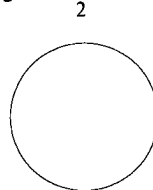


Figure 29
East Asia: Regime Duration by Type, 1956-85

Democratic

15

10

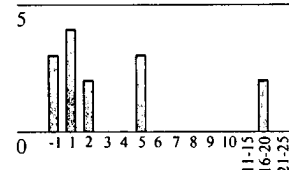
5



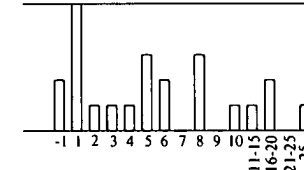
Military Authoritarian

15

10



Marxist-Leninist

Civilian Authoritarian/
One Party

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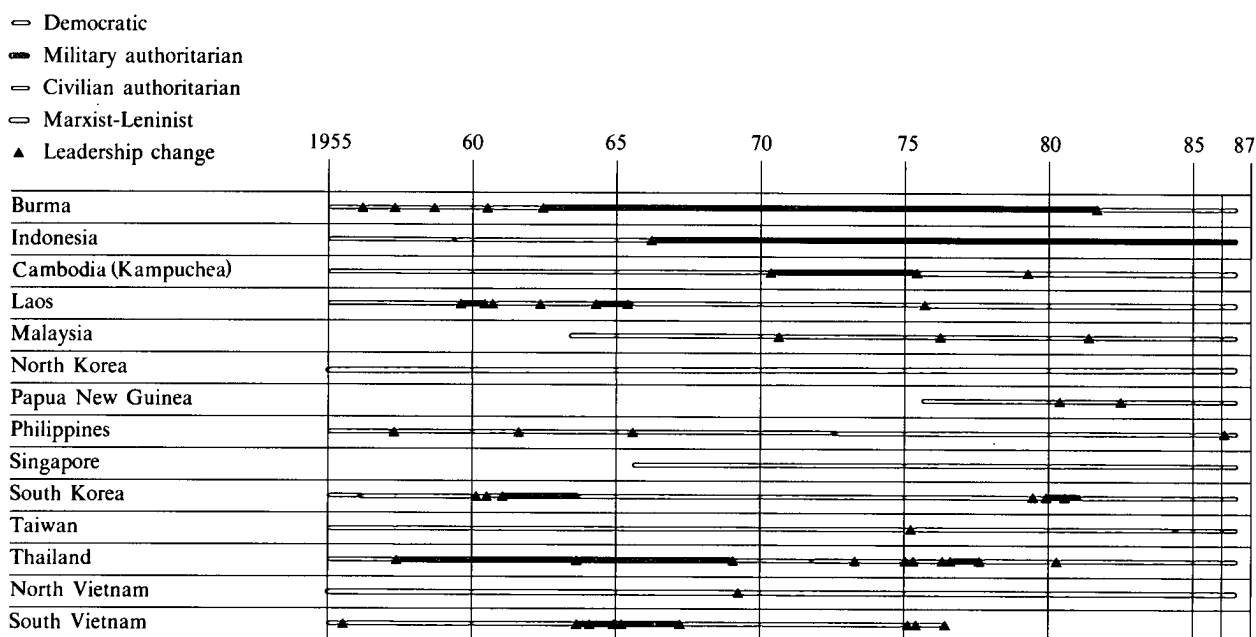
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Figure 30
East Asia: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86



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Confidential**Leadership Change in East Asia, 1955-86****Burma**

1981	9 November	Vice President San Yu, former Army chief who had been second in command, succeeds President Ne Win after Ne Win resigns.
1978	15 January	Ne Win reelected President; one-party state.
1974	3 March	Ne Win assumes title of President after ruling Revolutionary Council dissolved; one-party state declared.
1962	2 March	Gen. Ne Win assumes power after military coup.
1960	5 April	U Nu elected Prime Minister.
1958	30 October	Gen. Ne Win designated head of caretaker government by Prime Minister U Nu, after popular discontent forces U Nu resignation.
1957	12 March	U Nu elected Prime Minister.
1956	13 June	U Ba Sue succeeds Prime Minister U Nu (then known as Thakin Nu) after U Nu resigns.

Cambodia

1979	8 January	Heng Samrin installed in power by Vietnam following defeat of Kampuchean forces by invading Vietnamese Army; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1975	17 April	Pol Pot assumes power as Prime Minister after insurgency; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1970	18 March	Gen. Lon Nol assumes power from King Norodom Sinanouk after coup.

Indonesia

1983	10 March	Gen. Suharto reelected President.
1973	22 March	Gen. Suharto reelected President; fraudulent election.
1968	27 March	Gen. Suharto elected President; fraudulent election.
1967	12 March	Gen. Suharto designated Acting President by the Indonesian People's Provisional Consultative Congress.

Confidential

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1966 12 March Gen. Suharto assumes power after military takeover by senior officers following an abortive Communist-led coup in the fall of 1965.

1959 6 July President Sukarno declares Indonesia a "guided democracy," abolishes political parties, and assumes dictatorial powers after serving for 10 years as a constitutional President.

Laos

1975 2 December Kaysone Phomvihan, Secretary General of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, designated Prime Minister by the Supreme People's Council after Prince Souvanna Phouma is deposed by Communist-led insurgency; Marxist-Leninist regime.

1965 18 July Prince Souvanna Phouma elected Prime Minister following international pressure to reinstate neutralist government.

1964 19 April Brig. Gen. Siho Lanpoutacoul and Brig. Gen. Kouprasith Abhay assume power after coup; martial law declared.

1962 23 June Prince Souvanna Phouma designated Prime Minister in tripartite power-sharing arrangement with Prince Boun Oum and Prince Souphanouvong after international diplomatic intervention.

1960 25 December Prince Boun Oum Na Campassak assumes power after coup led by Gen. Phoumi Nosavan.

9 August Prince Souvanna Phouma reinstated by military after coup led by Cpt. Kong Le.
24 April Gen. Phoumi Nosavan elected Prime Minister by National Assembly; fraudulent election.

1959 31 December Gen. Phoumi Nosavan assumes power as head of caretaker government after he forces Premier Phoui Sananikoni to resign.

Malaysia

1986 3 August Mahathir bin Mohammed reelected Prime Minister.

1982 August Mahathir bin Mohammed elected Prime Minister.

1981 16 July Mahathir bin Mohammed constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Hussein Onn after Onn resigns.

1978 8 July Hussein Onn elected Prime Minister.

Confidential

Confidential

1976	16 January	Deputy Prime Minister Hussein Onn constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Abdul Razuk after Razuk dies.
1970	22 September	Abdul Razuk constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman after Rahman retires.
1969	14 May	Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman suspends the constitution following election defeat; emergency rule declared.
1963	6 September	Creation of Malaysia; Tunku Abdul Rahman—previously elected—continues as Prime Minister.

North Korea

1972	27 December	Kim Il Song elected President by Supreme People's Assembly under new constitution; Kim's unchallenged authority confirmed.
1948	9 September	Kim Il Song, General Secretary of the Korean Worker's Party (Communist Party), assumes power as Head of State after establishment of Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Papua New Guinea

1985	11 November	Paias Wingti elected Prime Minister.
1982	2 August	Michael Somare constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Julius Chan after Chan resigns.
1980	11 August	Julius Chan constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Michael Somare after Somare government receives no-confidence vote.
1977	9 August	Michael Somare reelected Prime Minister.
1975	16 September	Independence; Chief Minister Michael Somare elected Prime Minister.

Philippines

1986	25 February	Corazon Aquino becomes President when Ferdinand Marcos is forced to leave the country after declaring himself the winner of the presidential election; military rebellion and civilian demonstrations follow the fraudulent election.
1981	16 June	Ferdinand Marcos reelected; fraudulent election.
1972	23 September	President Marcos imposes martial law and suspends the constitution.

Confidential

Confidential

1969 11 November Ferdinand Marcos reelected President.

1965 9 November Ferdinand Marcos elected President.

1961 14 November Diosdado Macapagal elected President.

1957 18 March Vice President and Foreign Minister Carlos P. Garcia constitutionally succeeds President Ramon Magsaysay after Magsaysay dies in plane crash.

Singapore

1965 9 August Independence; Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew continues in office (first elected Prime Minister following full independence in 1963).

South Korea

1981 25 February Chun Doo Hwan reelected President; fraudulent election.

1980 27 August Maj. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan elected President by legislature after resignation of Choi Kyu Hah; fraudulent election.

1979 6 December Maj. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan assumes power as head of four-member military junta.

26 October Prime Minister Choi Kuy Hah constitutionally succeeds President Park Chung Hee as Acting President after Park assassinated.

1971 27 April Park Chung Hee reelected President; fraudulent election.

1967 3 May Park Chung Hee reelected President; fraudulent election.

1963 15 October Park Chung Hee reelected President; fraudulent election.

1961 16 May Maj. Gen. Park Chung Hee assumes power after coup.

1960 12 August Yun Po Sun elected President by parliament; Chang Myon named head of government under new cabinet system.

26 April Hun Chung succeeds President Syngman Rhee after popular pressure forces Rhee to resign.

15 March Syngman Rhee reelected President; fraudulent election.

1956 5 May Syngman Rhee reelected President (first elected in 1948); fraudulent election.

Confidential

Confidential**Taiwan**

1978 21 March Premier Chiang Ching-kuo elected President; fraudulent election.

1975 6 April Premier Chiang Ching-kuo assumes power after his father, Chang Kai-shek, dies (Vice President Yen Chia-kan holds only nominal power as Chiang's constitutional successor).

Thailand

1986 5 August Gen. Prem. Tinsulanon elected Prime Minister.

1980 3 March Gen. Prem. Tinsulanon designated Prime Minister by Revolutionary Council after forced resignation of Gen. Kriangsak Chamanan.

1977 11 November Gen. Kriangsak Chamanan, Commander of the Armed Forces, designated Prime Minister by 23-member Revolutionary Council.
20 October Adm. Sa-ngat Chaloyu heads junta after coup.

1976 6 October Adm. Sa-ngat Chaloyu heads Administrative Reform Council after coup deposes Seni Pramot; Thanin Kraiwichian designated Prime Minister.
4 April Seni Pramot elected Prime Minister.

1975 14 March Kikrit Pramot succeeds Prime Minister Seni Pramot.
26 January Seni Pramot elected Prime Minister.

1973 14 October Acting Premier Sanya Thammasal appointed Prime Minister by King after fall of Thanom government following student unrest.

1971 17 November Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn suspends the constitution.

1969 10 February Thanom Kittikachorn elected Prime Minister.

1963 9 December Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn designated Prime Minister by military leadership after death of Sarit Thanarat.

1957 16 September Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat deposes Plaek Phibunsongkhram; martial law declared.

Vietnam, Socialist Republic

1976 2 July North and South Vietnam reunited; Le Duan designated Communist Party Chairman by Party Congress; Marxist-Leninist regime.

1969 24 September Le Duan succeeds Ho Chi Minh as General Secretary after Ho dies, Marxist-Leninist regime.

Confidential

Confidential

1954 21 January Ho Chi Minh, General Secretary of the Worker's Party of Vietnam (Communist Party), remains in power when 1954 Geneva Conference agreement results in division of Indochina into North and South Vietnam; Marxist-Leninist regime.

Vietnam, South

1976 2 July North and South Vietnam reunited; Le Duan designated Communist Party Chairman by Party Congress; Marxist-Leninist regime.

1975 28 April Doung Van Minh succeeds President Tran Van Huong after Tran resigns.
22 April Vice President Tran Van Huong succeeds President Nguyen Van Thieu after Thieu resigns.

1971 3 October President Nguyen Van Thieu reelected.

1967 3 September Brig. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu elected President.

1965 21 February Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu designated Secretary General by 25-member Armed Forces Council after unanimous vote to oust Gen. Nguyen Khanh.
27 January Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh assumes power after coup against Prime Minister Tran Van Huong.
9 January Tran Van Huong designated Prime Minister after negotiations between Vietnamese leaders and US officials.

1964 26 August Military triumvirate (Generals Khanh, Minh, and Khiem) assumes power after Military Revolutionary Council revokes the new constitution.
12 August Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh announces a "reorganization" by Military Revolutionary Council and formally assumes title as President.
30 January Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh assumes power after coup; Gen. Duong Van Minh remains figurehead President.

1963 1 November Gen. Duong Van Minh assumes power after military coup in which Ngo Dinh Diem assassinated.

1961 19 October Ngo Dinh Diem reelected President; fraudulent election.

1956 4 March Ngo Dinh Diem elected President; fraudulent election.

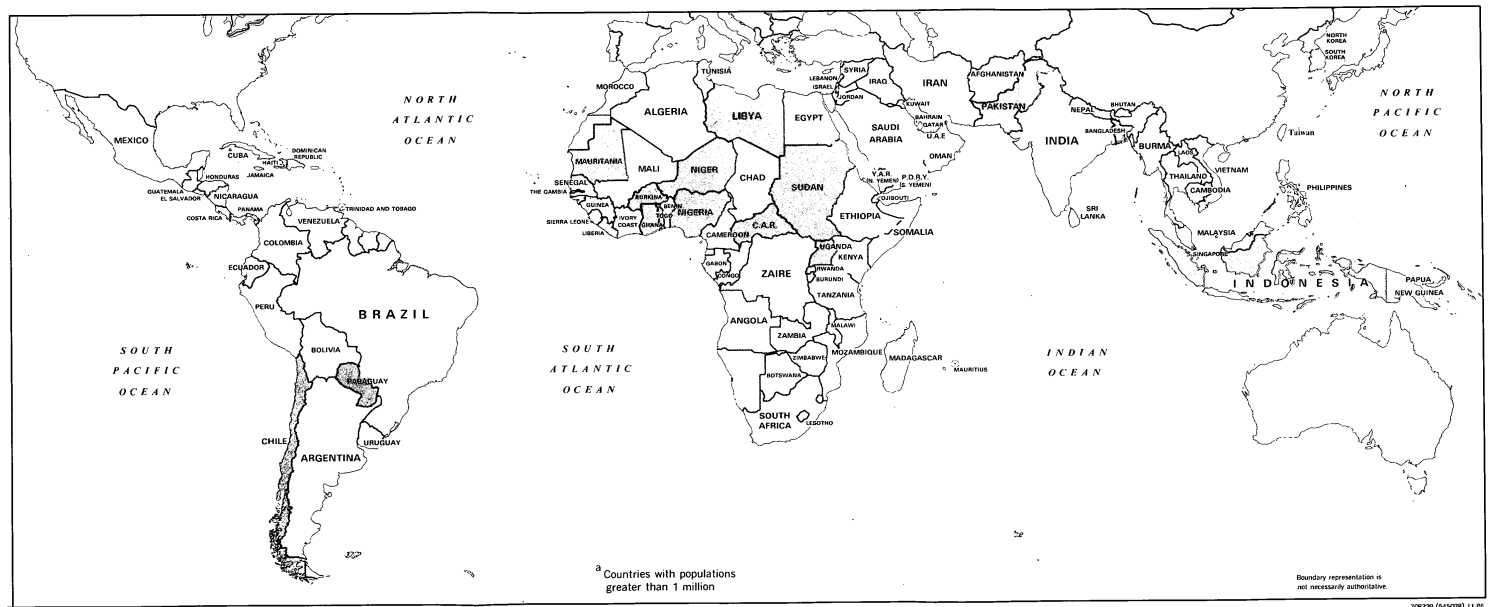
1955 26 October Ngo Dinh Diem assumes power after civil war in which forces loyal to Emperor Bao Dai are defeated.

Note: Leadership change can involve both a change in the leadership and in the regime type, but all regime changes do not necessarily involve a change in leadership.

Confidential

Third World: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986^a

Demographic Military authoritarian Civilian authoritarian / one party Marxist-Leninist



Confidential

Confidential